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SUMMARY OF NEWS.

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Politics of Europe.

The Shipping Report of yesterday announced the arrival of the Ship *LA BELLE ALLIANCE*, Captain Rolfe, from the Isle of France the 19th of October; and the *MARY ANN SOPHIA*, from Sumatra the 9th of November. The list of Passengers by the former vessel, will be found in its usual place.

Among the most interesting of the Debates in Parliament, contained in the Papers last received, may be numbered that on the State of Ireland, on the Catholic Peers Bill, on the Influence of the Crown, and on the Goverment Press in Scotland. The last is already before our readers in the JOURNAL of yesterday; and the first will be found in our pages of to-day. We shall follow up these by the republication of the others as speedily as their length will admit.

Though the excited passions of the "Free, the Orderly, and the Pious," render them so sharp-sighted that they can see BLASPHEMY in the idea of Addressing one Lord on Earth and another in Heaven, they are so blind or so indifferent to the atrocities committing on their poor Christian brethren in other quarters, that we scarcely see the subject adverted to in their pages, and have hardly a solitary paragraph afforded to hold it up to deserved execration. With them, neither the unparalleled cruelties exercised on the Greeks, the sufferings of the famished Irish, nor indeed any other subject is of any importance compared with the infinitely more interesting and momentous events of Secret Challenges delivered by no body knows *who*, and Brass Binnacle Compasses used no body knows *where*; of Gazettes Extraordinary to announce no body knows *what*, and Uproar made more uproarious till the whole Town is in a commotion no body knows *why*. In short, not all the great calamities that have visited this nether world of ours, from the last eruption of Vesuvius to the inundation at Backerunge, can have been worthy, in the estimation of these Social-Order men, of half the attention with which we are pleased to see they still honor us:—and if their labours were analysed from the day of their first starting into birth, up to this period of their fast approaching extinction, it would be found that we had occupied what perhaps was never before the case with any single individual in the world, a much larger space than any other subject, amid all the varied range of Newspaper discussion.

As, however, we conceive that the threatened extinction of a whole race, the Greeks, and the internal state and condition of a whole nation, the Irish, must be of *quite as much* importance to our Readers as ridiculous stories of Binnacle Compasses and other mighty matters which no one cares sufficiently about to venture over our threshold or even address us a Note to enquire into, we have given up again to-day a portion of our Asiatic Department to the Debate on the State of Ireland, and introduce here, from the *TIME* of the 28th of June, the following awful and heart-rending document, respecting the persecuted Greeks.

Massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople and Scio.—The following affecting appeal from the Greeks at Constantinople to their brethren and countrymen here, was received by the last mail from Turkey. We publish it without comment, leaving the statement, as it will do most eloquently, to speak for itself:—

Constantinople, May 25, 1822.—“Dear and beloved Brethren and Countrymen, — We doubt not, that the news contained herein must have already reached you, and fallen like a thunder-bolt on your hearts. What more dreadful than the knowledge, that our illustrious and innocent countrymen—ten of them in prison here, and those in the castle of Scio, 95 in all—universally esteemed and respected, chosen and held as hostages for more than a year past, have at last, without a single motive, without even the shadow of a personal accusation against them, been barbarously executed? We at first deeply lamented the unmerited restraint put upon the persons of those now no more; their death, ignominious and cruel, in the first burst of grief nearly paralysed our faculties; but these we look upon now as enjoying eternal and immutable felicity: our pity is no longer their due, but it flows for those unfortunates who have survived, and who henceforth are doomed to tyranny unexampled in history, and privations of every kind. Who can, without shuddering, read of the total ruin, the universal desolation of our famed and once happy isle (Scio); the destruction of all its inhabitants, nearly one hundred thousand, who, except a very few who almost miraculously escaped from those ill-fated shores, have fallen victims to the sword, to fire, hunger, and slavery—that worst of all evils? Who can, without feelings of indignation, without execrating the perpetrators of these horrid acts, behold a whole city lately so flourishing, now one heap of ruins; whole villages, innumerable country seats, a prey to the flames; our celebrated school, library, hospital for the sick, hundreds of churches richly adorned—all, all one confused mass of smoking rubbish! Our island lately so much frequented by Europeans, and more especially by English families of the first rank, will now have only her ashes to show the passing stranger. Nor is this, so dreadful in itself, the most dire of our calamities. The slavery of so many respectable women, young people, and children of both sexes, sent off to different parts of Asia—the markets of this city and Smyrna filled with women and young people of the first rank, and who have received the best education? What can be more dreadful than this? Happy, thrice happy those whom the steel of the assassin has snatched from scenes so harrowing to the feelings; how miserable those still suffered to exist, who see the sufferings, hear the cries and piteous accents of their wives, children, and relatives, and are witnesses to the barbarous treatment this devoted and innocent people receive from the wretches who have them in their power! What can be laid to our charge? We poor Scioites who, from the beginning, have remained faithful, are rewarded with death and slavery. It is well known, as soon as the Porte heard of the insurrection in the Morea, and sundry islands of the Archipelago, it sent here a Pasha having with him about three thousand troops; the whole of the expenses of this garrison was defrayed by our island, which, in the course of about fourteen months, paid more than 2,700,000 piastres, each according to his means. Besides that, the Sultan ordered a choice to be made of sixty of the most considerable and respectable from our countrymen, beginning by our Archbishop Plato, the elder, and other principal inhabitants. When the news of the invasion of the imprudent Samiotes first spread in Scio, the principal inhabitants waited on the Pasha to apprise him of it. What was his answer?—to send into the castle, as hostages, some more of these innocent men, and to transport all the provisions out of the city into the citadel, not leaving any whatever for the poor inhabitants

of the city, who were so numerous. A month after, when the Samiotes landed, the Pasha sent some of the hostages, with several Turks, to prevail on the Samiotes to evacuate the island; but they imprudently resolved to advance, and told these ministers of peace that they would sooner put them to death than do so. The Pasha then shut himself up in the castle with all the military, taking with them all the hostages. It was understood that a number of the peasantry had joined the Samiotes; they were in a manner forced to it, being apprehensive of the Samiotes themselves, and they were only armed with sticks and staves. Eleven days after, the Turkish fleet arrived at the island, and landed 15,000 soldiers, who, joined by the 3,000 in the castle, being unable to attack and defeat the 3,000 Samiotes, used their weapons against the innocent and disarmed inhabitants, and turned their fury against women and children, killing, burning, and taking in slavery all the inhabitants of the place; the men they slaughtered, the women and children they brutally treated and huddled together in one of the large squares, which contained several hundred of the most respectable families; they have not left a stone upon a stone—all destroyed, all ruined! It would fill volumes to record the different scenes of horror which the Russians were guilty of—humanity shudders at it. But this universal desolation had not yet satisfied the blood-thirsty followers of Mahomed: they had heaped upon their trembling and tender victims all the bitterness of their fanaticism, 95 men, the first of their nation, both as to character and property, men who had always followed the paths of rectitude in their commercial transactions—whose relations were established in almost every known commercial city in the known world—men innocent of any machination against the Turkish government, and who could not, if even they would, have been participants in the rising of the island, since they had been 14 months under the grasp of the Turkish satrap. Ten of these were at Constantinople, the remainder at Scio. Lord Strangford made strenuous efforts to save them—neglected no remonstrance—evinced the greatest ardour in the cause of suffering innocence, and thought he had succeeded in sheltering them from their impending fate, having obtained a promise from the Porte that no harm should be done them, when it suddenly gave orders for their execution. The ten in Constantinople were beheaded, and the 85 in Scio were hung outside of the castle, in that very square where so many of the slaves were placed, in sight of the Turkish fleet, who had their decks covered with Greek slaves. Oh! how the heart sickens at such refinement of cruelty, and turns with horror from that malice that could take delight in deriding the mental agony of the innocent sufferers in this tragic scene! What a number of wives were forced to be spectators of the cruel death of the husbands of their affections—to see at the same time their sucking babes, torn from their breasts, thus bereft at once of their support and their hopes! Many driven to despair by this barbarous usage threw themselves into the sea, others stabbed themselves to prevent the loss of honour, to them worse than death, to which they were every moment exposed from the barbarians; but, alas! let us draw a veil upon those who have thus sunk untimely into the grave; let us not harrow up your souls with the recital of their atrocities; their sufferings are over, and their felicity, let us hope, begun! It is now time to turn your sympathy towards the unfortunate survivors of the general wreck—to call, dear countrymen, your attention to the miserable naked state of thousands of our Scioi, with which the markets here, at Smyrna, and Scio, are glutted. Picture to yourselves children of the tenderest age, till now nursed with the most delicate attention, driven about with only a piece of cloth round their infant limbs, without shoes or any other covering, having nothing to live upon but a piece of bread thrown to them by their inhuman keepers—ill treated by them—sold from one to the other, and all in this deplorable situation, exposed to be brought up in the Mahometan religion, and lose sight of the precepts of our holy religion. We see all this; yet, alas! what can we do here, reduced to three or four, who, if found out, would also be exterminated without mercy? What we could do, we have done; but how little among so many claimants to our charity. You, brothers, friends, and countrymen, are in the capital of England, the centre of philanthropy; you

live amongst a people always famed for their generous feelings towards the unfortunate, for their dislike to tyranny, and their support of the oppressed. Beg, pray, entreat, appeal to their feelings, call upon them as Britons, as men, as fellow beings: it is in the cause of humanity and of religion: they cannot, will not, be deaf to your prayers. They will afford us, as far as lies in their power, the means of redeeming the captives, of aiding those families that are in a state of nudity and starvation, who will soon arrive in almost every port of the Mediterranean, when they have been enabled to fly from a yoke worse than death. We rely upon your endeavours, and still more upon the high character of the nation among whom you inhabit: thousands of hands are raised towards you to claim your interference in behalf of your oppressed countrymen; thousands of hearts will feel grateful for your assistance. Brethren and countrymen, exert yourselves in behalf of humanity.

With tearful eye we cordially salute you, and beg you will pray to God for our safety.

YOUR BROTHERS AND COUNTRYMEN."

London, June 18, 1822.—Yesterday the Duke of York transacted military business with the King.

The Duchess of Gloucester visited the King yesterday.

Yesterday His Majesty took an airing in his private carriage in the Park, and called at his Palace at Pimlico.

Extract of a letter, dated Lisbon June 1:—"Yesterday a Council of State was held, at which it was determined to send 12 battalions (7,200 men) to Bahia, under convoy of one ship of the line, three frigates, and two corvettes."

Danish Loan of 3,000,000*l.* sterling.—The half-yearly dividend warrants, due 30th of June 1822, of Danish 5 per Cent. Bonds, in pounds sterling, and in marks banco, forming part of the above loan will be paid at the counting-house of Messrs. B. A. Goldschmidt and Co. No. 5, Great St. Helens' passage, Bishopsgate-street, on Saturday the 29th instant, and every succeeding day, between the hours of 10 and 2 o'clock.

A letter is received at Yarmouth from Mr. Rumbold, which states, that he had a conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that little doubt now remained but that either a drawback would be allowed on cured fish for home consumption as well as those for exportation, or that the tax would be entirely taken off the salt used in the fisheries—*Norwich Mercury.*

Letters from Vera Cruz of the 30th March state, that the Cortes were at that time engaged in active deliberation relative to the adjustment of the affairs of the country. Iturbide had given in his resignation, preferring to abide the decision of the Cortes regarding the reward of his services, rather than involve the country in a civil war. Spanish, American, French, and English vessels, were at that time in the harbour of Vera Cruz and a regular communication subsisted with the city of Mexico

The Corporation of Nottingham have resolved to petition the House of Lords in favour of the Roman Catholic Peers' bill.—*Nottingham Journal.*

It is worthy of remark, that the only English ships of war Buonaparte was ever on board of are now lying in the river, Medway, viz. the UNDAUNTED, BELLEROPHON, and NORTHUMBERLAND. In the first he was conveyed to the Island of Elba, in April, 1815; in July following he surrendered, and was received on board the second at Rochefort, after the battle of Waterloo; and in less than a month afterwards sailed in the third for St. Helena, where he died on the 5th of May, 1821.

The Anniversary Meeting of the National Benevolent Institution, founded by P. Herve, Esq. was held on Saturday at the Freemasons' Tavern. The object of this institution, is to afford permanent relief to persons who have lived respectably, either in independence, professions, or the more reputable departments of trade, and who from unforeseen misfortunes are reduced to want. The Earl of Darnley, who took the chair on the occasion, enforced the general objects of the institution in a short

but impressive speech. The meeting was rather select than numerous: but a considerable sum was collected in furtherance of the objects of the charity.

The trial of William Murray Borthwick, accused of stealing documents from the *Sentinel*-office, originally insisted on at the instance of the Lord Advocate, and afterwards at the instance of his *quondam* partner Alexander, has been given up, and the warrant for detaining Mr. Borthwick in goal was yesterday withdrawn, and he is now at liberty.—*Edinburgh Courant*.

The Colliers and Stone-getters in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton having returned peaceably to their work again, the detachment of the Scots Guards, under Lieut. Askew, left that town on Friday sc'anight; and one of the companies of the 2d or Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot, under the command of Major Gordon, marched on Monday for Chester; and Captain Kell's company, of the same regiment (the only one now remaining) is expected to follow in a few days.

A country paper mentions, that a person was lately killed by lightning, attracted, as it is supposed, by the *money in his pockets*. This we conceive to be the most conclusive argument that has yet been adduced to prove the superiority of *paper*.

Mining Intelligence.—Copper ores sold at Redruth on Thursday, 1.915 tons, standard 108L 7d. Copper ores for sale this week at Redruth, 3,230 tons. Copper ores sold by private contract the 6th inst., 109 tons, 10 cwt., 2 quarters, at 8L 10s. per ton.

Longevity of a Horse.—There is now living and in the possession of the proprietors of the Mersey and Irwell navigation, where he has been the most part of his life, a horse 63 years old this grass: he is perfectly sound, and free from blemish, and has been in regular work till within a few years. He is now kept at his ease for his past services.—*Liverpool Advertiser*.

Melancholy Accident.—Yesterday morning, as Mr. Knight, a respectable tradesman, residing in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, accompanied by his wife, several of his children, and some friends, were going over the upper part of the Wellington brewery, in the City-road, to view the apparatus. Mrs. Knight, not perceiving an aperture in the floor, fell through into the landing below. Her legs, thigh, and collar-bone were broken, and she was taken up in an almost lifeless state. Every thing surgical skill could suggest was resorted to, and she was conveyed home without hopes of recovery.

Bow-street.—Female Robbers.—Yesterday Mary Smith, Catherine Carroll, and Elizabeth Capps, three women of extremely disgusting appearance, who have long been the terror of Drury-lane and its neighbourhood, were charged before Sir R. Birnie with the commission of a daring robbery.

Joseph Read, a young man who stated himself to be a journeyman carpenter, said, that he was walking down Drury-lane about nine o'clock on Sunday morning, and as he was passing the end of Wellington-place, the prisoner Smith rushed out upon him, seized him by the collar, and dragged him up the court, at the same time thrusting her hand into his waistcoat pocket. He resisted and had nearly got from her when the prisoner Capps (a very powerful woman) struck him a tremendous blow on the eye, and brought him to the ground. The other prisoner joined them, and they beat and scratched him in an infamous manner; and finally stole a half crown and some other silver from his pocket. In the latter part of the outrage they were assisted by two young men who got away. The prisoners got into a public-house, where they were taken by Scott, a constable of St. Clement's, who found a half-crown upon Smith.

Several respectable inhabitants of Drury-lane corroborated the prosecutor's statement, and expressed their opinion that he would have been murdered but for the interference of the constables and those who assisted them. They described the prisoners to be women of the most desperate character, and said the whole neighbourhood was continually in a state of riot, occasioned by their conduct. The language they used was truly horrible, and several persons had been assaulted and robbed by them.

Read, the prosecutor, had a black eye, and his head and face were otherwise severely marked.—The prisoners were all fully committed

London, June 19, 1822. Yesterday morning the King left town for Kew, where his Majesty spent the day.

On Sunday the Prince and Princess of Denmark dined with the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry.

Yesterday the Duke of York held a levee as Commander in Chief at the Horse-Guards.

Yesterday being the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, the same was observed by the military mounting guard in the Park, &c. wearing laurel in their hats, caps, &c. In the evening the Duke of Wellington gave a grand dinner party at his house, Hyde-park-corner, to sixty military officers, consisting chiefly of those who were of his Grace's staff, and had commands on that memorable day. The Marquis of Anglesea and Lord Hill were absentees: the former is in the Isle of Wight. The Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, was present. The dinner was served up on the costly Portuguese service of plate which was presented to his Grace. The other plate and the services of China presented to his Grace by the Allied Powers were used on the occasion.

New Master in Chancery.—It is said that young Mr. Banks is to be the new Master in Chancery, in the room of Mr. Alexander. The appointment of this young Gentleman makes some noise in the legal circles, as Mr. Banks is supposed to know as much of Chancery law as the Lord Chancellor (according to his own account) does of music. Young Mr. Banks, some time ago, seconded an Address to the Throne, in answer to his Majesty's most gracious Speech. The father and son are Members for a borough of their own, called Corfe Castle, so that they have a right to share of the just-and-necessary-influence money.

London, Tuesday Evening, June 25, 1822.—Prince Esterhazy's six barouch horses were sold yesterday at Tattersall's which excited great interest with the fancy. They were sold as follows: two to His Majesty, two to Lord Aberdeen, and two to Richard Wilson, Esq. The whole were very elegant horses, and sold at high prices.

Mr. Secretary Gregory transacted business, for the first time since his late accident at Dublin Castle, on Saturday last.

The Plague in the Mediterranean.—The Gibraltar Paper of the 3d instant contains the following official notice relative to the plague at Algiers:—

“ Civil Secretary's Office, Gibraltar, June 1, 1822.

“ It appearing by official information that the plague is declared to exist in the city of Algiers.

His Excellency the Governor has deemed it expedient to give directions that no vessels from that Regency, or its dependencies, be admitted to pratique in this port, without having first performed quarantine on any one of the accredited Lazaretto's of the Mediterranean.” By Command,

(Signed) S. R. CHAPMAN, Civil Secretary.

Ingenious Advertisement.—Of all dependants upon their wits that I have ever seen or heard of, a Dutch traveller, mentioned to me by one of my friends, merits the palm. Mr. Bowly told me, that when he was travelling in France, he met at Lyons a Dutch gentleman of some rank, but who was not rich. He generally dined with other foreigners at an ordinary, and spoke with earnestness of a wonderful animal, a Rhinoceros, which was in that city; always pressing the new comers to go and see this strange creature, whose singular qualities he extolled in such a manner, that he made some visit it more than once! Mr. Bowly having met him in several cities, and seeing him always equally zealous on this subject, was desirous to find out his motive. He discovered at last that the Dutch gentleman had found the means of obtaining a living by buying a Rhinoceros, which he sent on before him with a man whom he could trust to all the great towns where he wished to stop; and introducing himself into genteel company, he soon gave the Rhinoceros a celebrity, which defrayed the expences of his own travels.—*Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement*,

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1822.

STATE OF IRELAND.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given, to call their lordships' attention to the state of Ireland. In doing this he was conscious that he could not be accused of precipitation. After all that had occurred since the meeting of Parliament relative to Ireland—after all that had been stated on that subject by members of the Government, and by other individuals in their lordships' house and elsewhere—after the promises which had been made that the state of that country would be brought under the attention of Parliament—after the change which had been made in the Government of Ireland, without producing those advantages which had been expected from it—after the period to which the present session had arrived without any thing on this subject, being offered to the consideration of Parliament, he believed he should be acquitted of any thing like rashness in bringing forward the motion he was about to submit to their lordships. He felt at least that in taking this opportunity of calling their lordships' attention to the state of Ireland, he was doing his duty. In the view which he would take of the situation of that country, he would endeavour to spare the time of their lordships as much as possible by avoiding to dwell on those topics of distress which were the subject of complaint throughout the United Kingdom in general. He would, however, take the liberty of reminding their lordships, that such unhappily was the wretched situation of Ireland, that all the distress arising from the depreciation of the currency, from the depressed value of agricultural produce, had necessarily affected that country in a far greater degree than this. The reason was, that in this country there was a powerful manufacturing interest, which had by its resistance, broken the weight of the agricultural distress; but Ireland being nearly altogether agricultural, must suffer from the depressed state of that interest in a much greater proportion from the other parts of the United Kingdom. He should, therefore as he had said, spare the time of their lordships by separating from the discussion into which he was about to enter, those circumstances of distress which were common to both countries. It would however, be his duty in calling their attention to the particular state of Ireland, to point out those circumstances of a peculiar nature by which that country was exclusively affected. If it were necessary, in calling their lordships' attention to the state of Ireland, to show that the situation of that country was one of peculiarity, he need only refer to the statutes by which it had for a period back been governed; to the laws, also, which had been passed with the view of preserving tranquillity within these last few years; to the laws, even, which had been enacted during the present session; to the language which had inevitably been used by the proposers and supporters of those measures; to the admissions made by the opponents of all severe laws. When, indeed, it had been proposed, that in a part of the united kingdom trial by jury should be suspended—when it had been proposed, that arbitrary power should be given to all magistrates—when it had been proposed that the public money should be voted to find food and employment for the poor, surely he need not occupy the time of their lordships by any argument, to prove that the situation of that part of the British empire in which such measures had been thought necessary was peculiar. It was admitted on all hands, that trial by jury was one of the most valuable privileges of the constitution; yet it was said, that for the enjoyment of this excellent institution, Ireland was not fit. That it was most dangerous to the liberty of the subject to invest magistrates with arbitrary power, was generally acknowledged; and yet it was maintained, that there was something in the state of Ireland which rendered its exercise of arbitrary and unconstitutional power indispensable. That it was wrong—nay, mischievous—to interfere with the regular course of supply and demand in the market was a principle no less generally recognized; but so singular was the situation of Ireland, that this great principle of political economy must be violated. The general admission made in their lordships' house and elsewhere, not only by the language in which their sentiments had been expressed, but by the resolutions they had adopted, was that measures which were most beneficial to this country became pregnant with evil the moment they passed to Ireland. It could not, then, be necessary for him to say more to impress on their lordships the recollection of peculiarity in the situation of Ireland. Convinced of the fact, they would naturally endeavour to account for the circumstances which produced so extraordinary a state of things. To what was the condition of Ireland to be attributed? Was it because she possessed a most fertile soil? Was it because her insular situation was most favourable to commerce? Was it because she was blest with a temperate and genial climate? Was it because Providence had bestowed on her every thing calculated to ensure riches and prosperity? Unfortunately, in spite of all her national advantages, all the kindness of Providence, Ireland continued poor in the midst of wealth—barbarous in the midst of civilization. That constitution which conferred happiness on this country, was to Ireland only a mere of evil. Their lordships must then look farther for the origin of the mis-

chiefs: they must look for them in the institutions and system by which that country had long been governed. The object of their inquiry ought to be to ascertain what connexion subsisted between the system of Government and the state of society. In undertaking such an inquiry, it would be wrong were they to describe the conduct of individuals as the cause of the evil, or to throw a stigma on any particular class of persons. It would be unjust in a legislature to impute to classes of individuals, evils to which its acts or omissions might have given birth. The state of Ireland was not to be attributed to the misconduct of the landlords, or to the misconduct of the clergy. These classes in Ireland consisted of men who had received the same kind of education as the like classes in England. Their conduct was, therefore, to be ascribed to the state of society, and the institutions under which they were called upon to act. In this view of the subject, their lordships must necessarily look to the general state of the population, and to the nature and effect of the burdens which that population had been made to bear. These were circumstances which must form a very material consideration in any inquiry, whether retrospective or prospective, with regard to Ireland. By a paper which he held in his hand, it appeared that the population of Ireland was in 1595 estimated at 1,340,000; in 1673, at 2,120,000; in 1791, at 4,200,000; in 1804, it was found to be above 5,460,000; and in 1821, it was found to have so rapidly increased that the returns made it 6,846,000. He believed it had been found that the average in this country was 3 acres and a half of soil population, the average was only 2 acres and 5-9ths. Of this population, of so enormous an amount, and so crowded in respect to the soil, it was calculated that only one-fourth belonged to the established religion of the country; and this circumstance was of itself a fruitful source of evil. It was not for the purpose of calling their lordships' attention to the great importance of this population as forming part of the physical strength of the empire that he had thus particularly noticed; but for removing a very prevalent error—namely, that an increase of population necessarily indicated a corresponding increase in wealth and prosperity. On the contrary, the peculiar condition of Ireland proved that there might be a state of society in which the population rapidly increased, while the true sign of wealth and prosperity, the facility with which each individual found for himself a comfortable subsistence, was considerably diminished. This was a consequence of that system of gradual degradation by which the great mass of the population had been reduced to subsist entirely on the lowest kind of human food, and that which the slightest labour could supply—he meant potatoes. The effect of this habit was to produce an indifference to comfort, and to incline individuals of the labouring class to look forward only to a bare existence. In such a situation the peasant considered himself justified in marrying, thought he had no other means of maintaining a family but the potatoes he might raise in a small garden. To this state of things were the disturbances of Ireland in a great measure owing. This lamentable degradation was the cause of those painful scenes so often witnessed—

“ When scourged by famine from the smiling land
“ The mournful peasant leads his humble band;
“ And while he sinks without one arm to save,
“ The country blooms—a garden and a grave.”

The increase of population, as he had already observed, was not, therefore, an index of happiness. When degraded in the manner he had described, that increase was accompanied with the most serious evils. The unfortunate state of society had given an artificial spring to the population, and along with its increase the most salutary principles of the constitution were perverted. The advantages which the constitution conferred on that country had been converted to evil. The views of a base and corrupt ambition had converted the privileges of freemen into a means of increasing slaves. He would here state one of the political evils which afflicted that country, by which the right of election, instead of being an advantage, was made an engine of degradation to the people. The circumstance to which he alluded was the practice of letting land in common. This was carried to an extent which noble lords only acquainted with this country could not conceive. To enable a great number of persons to vote at an election, it was usual to let a farm in common. He knew an instance of one farm for which no less than ninety persons were registered as freeholders. The farm would scarcely afford a subsistence to each individual, living in the state of degradation he had described. This, then, was a practice by which not only population was increased, but it was a practice most likely to create a pauper population. To have so large a number of individuals as 90 registered for one farm, was, perhaps, an uncommon case; but instances of farms let to 20, 30, and 40 persons for election purposes were very common. Many of their lordships would doubtless hear with astonishment of such an abuse of the law. He owned that, with whatever respect he looked to the existing law of election, he thought there could be no objection to limit the right of voting for one farm to one individual. The narrowing of the right would not be inconsistent with the principles of the constitution, and it would be of great service to the general good of the country. He came now to a very important part of the subject to which he had directed their lordships' attention—namely, the nature of the burdens which the

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population of Ireland had been made to bear. And here he had to point out one of the most extraordinary misapplications of the principles of taxation that ever had been made in any country—a misapplication which, while it robbed the people of their comforts, diminished the public resources. No such instance of pernicious absurdity he believed could be found in the whole history of fiscal mal-administration. The revenue of Ireland in the year 1787 was about 4,387,400l. Between 1807 and 1821, taxes to the amount of 3,776,000l. had been imposed. Yet the revenue in 1821 amounted only to about 3,844,000l. So that the effect of this imposition of taxes, with an increased population, had been to reduce the revenue of 1821 some hundred thousand pounds below that of 1807. Thus while the poor were deprived of their comforts, less was extracted from them, and the revenue of the country was diminished. He might go into the details of this increased taxation and diminished revenue, but that would occupy too much of their lordships' time. He could not, however, resist his desire to call their attention to two of the articles. He believed, if there were any articles which might be regarded as the luxuries of the poor, they were those of tea and sugar. They were articles of consumption first resorted to beyond the mere necessities of life, in the first approximation of the poor to ease and comfort. After an increase of duty on sugar equal to one half, the revenue produced by the article had fallen from 444,400l. on an average of 5 years, to 379,900l.; and on the imposition of an additional duty of 14s. per cwt., the consumption had diminished from 338,000 cwt. to 200,000 cwt. With regard to tea, the amount of the revenue on that article had been in 1807 about 567,600l. In 1819 it was reduced to 451,300l. He remembered to have heard it observed by a learned and eloquent person, the Attorney-General for Ireland, that every additional house which was built in that country was a pledge of security and attachment for England. He wished their lordships to apply this principle to all other comforts. Every thing which tended to urge men to extend their ideas, to habituate them to the enjoyments connected with social ties, had the certain effect of insuring tranquillity. He should, however, be taking a very imperfect view of the subject, were he to limit his condemnation of the imprudent increase of public burdens to its effect in diminishing comfort. Their lordships must not fail to look also at its influence on morality. He had now before him a statement, on the accuracy of which he believed he could depend, which would afford their lordships a means of judging of the effects of the increased duties on distillation in Ireland. Such was the state of the revenue laws, that the contraband distiller, upon the outlay of 9l. could make 27l. Such was the extent of the temptation to the violation of the laws—to that violation in consequence of which every illicit still became a school for resistance to the Government—a nucleus around which the spirit of disaffection gathered. That was a bounty held out to the peasant for violating the law—an inducement constantly operating on his mind—and the prisons of the country were filled with persons to be educated for more iniquitous offences. In the course of the last six years, 5,350 persons had been committed for offences connected with illicit distillation; and out of that number 3,963 had been convicted. When their lordships considered the imperfect condition and discipline of the Irish prisons, they might be enabled to form some estimate of the addition which these commitments on account of illicit distillation were likely to make to the general mass of crime in the country. The man who was driven into prison for a comparatively slight offence, would probably come out a hardened predator. He would be prepared to violate other laws, and would at last join in bidding defiance to the armed force. He came now to the administration of justice: but before he entered on that important subject, he wished to refer their lordships to a character given of the population of Ireland in the excellent work of Sir John Davis. Here the noble marquis quoted a passage to the following effect:—“There is no nation under the sun more attached than the Irish to strangers and indifferent persons, if they act impartially towards them, nor any people more disposed to pay obedience to the laws, provided they receive protection from the laws.” Such was the opinion of Sir John Davis. Now if with such dispositions to obey and respect the laws, there unfortunately existed at the present period so great a hostility to the execution of them, the fact imposed upon their lordships the necessity of inquiring how far the administration of them was calculated to create that hostility. In making a few observations on that system of administration, he would say nothing of the practice of the courts nor throw any reflection on the conduct of the judges. He would confine himself chiefly to the state of the magistracy which was forced upon their lordships' attention by recent circumstances. Most of those who attended to the state of Ireland, admitted that defects existed in the system of the magistracy, and that from the class of persons sometimes put in the commission of the peace, and their conduct while in office, it required revision. Instead of being always men of education, of rank, or property, in the counties in which they are appointed magistrates, instances had occurred in which persons were nominated who had no respectability in society, and who, independent of their office, did not even possess the means of subsistence. Though, as a body, he was willing to allow that they included men of high rank, of great property and consideration; yet it could not be denied, that many unworthy individuals were mixed up with them—indi-

viduals who had no one quality that fitted them for the functions which they were called upon to discharge; and who possessed not the fortune that would enable them to maintain a respectable figure in their own districts. He could speak on this subject with a considerable degree of certainty, as, in his recent experience, a case had occurred which supported the statement which he had made. He had been applied to not many weeks ago, for a loan of money by a person who called himself an Irish magistrate's son. This person turned out to be an impostor; but it was nevertheless true, that he was a magistrate's son, and that that magistrate was also a bankrupt. He mentioned this case because he knew that it was not singular, and because it showed what sort of persons were sometimes put into the commission in Ireland. He (Lord Lansdown) remembered that when the man's conduct was disclosed, the reflection instantly occurred to his mind—“we have this session been passing laws which place the personal freedom of every man in certain districts of Ireland in the pleasure of the magistracy, and it is to the hopeful father of such a hopeful son that we have sometimes intrusted their execution.” (hear.) The state of the magistracy, therefore, required speedy and effectual revision. But it was not to the selection of them as regulated by fortune, education, or respectability, that attention should exclusively be paid—other circumstances must be taken into view. He did not mean to enter at present into any observations on the policy of farther admission of the Roman Catholics into the enjoyment of the benefit of the constitution; that question would be brought forward, by abler hands next session, and he would not now prematurely enter upon it; but whatever should be its fate, and however different the opinions among their lordships as to its wisdom and policy, he might state, as a point in which all concurred, that the existing laws should be impartially administered, without reference to religion; and that the concessions already made to the Catholics should be enjoyed to their full extent. Catholics were admitted by the existing laws to the magistracy. Now he would ask, why the number of the Catholic magistrates did not bear the same proportion to the Catholic property of Ireland as the Protestant magistrates to the Protestant property? Why, in some countries, where persons of the Catholic persuasion were qualified, were there no Catholic magistrate? Why, especially, were they not called to serve on grand juries where assessments were laid on Catholic property? By not being admitted to serve on grand juries where questions relative to the assessment on Catholics were determined, and where the Catholics would look upon them as their natural protectors against exaction and abuse, a suspicion could not fail to be infused into the minds of the lower classes, that impartial justice was not dealt out to them—that their interests were not sufficiently consulted—that advantage was taken of their defenceless condition, and that matters would have been settled differently had the country proceedings been watched by guardians of their own religion—a suspicion than which nothing could be more fatal to every hope of contentment and tranquillity. If it were necessary to bring any authority in support of this sentiment, he might appeal to the opinion of one of the greatest and wisest of men—a man not less versant in the knowledge of laws and institutions, and not less acquainted with the duties of a statesman, than profound as an interpreter of nature, and skilful in pointing out the road to improvement in physical science—he meant Lord Bacon. The great man concluded an address of advice to Sir John Oshorn, who was sitting out on an import mission, with the following remarkable words:—“My last advice is, that you attend to impartiality in religious matters, and refrain from meddling in religious disputes, lest (added he) Ireland civil become more dangerous to us than Ireland savage!” (hear.) Lord Bacon, with his usual sagacity, saw the necessity of keeping down religious feuds and animosities by an equal administration of the laws. But though the partiality of which he (Lord Lansdown) complained in respect to the appointment of magistrates, was calculated to excite suspicion in the administration of the laws among the lower orders, there was another obstruction to their due execution not less important—he meant the immense taxation on law proceedings, which shut out from the protection of law two-thirds of the population of the country. (hear.) He did not now allude to that system of spoliation and injustice (for he could call it by no other name) which was practised on the suitors of the Courts under the name of fees, and which had happily been exposed and put an end to; he meant an obstruction of justice, which the state had to answer for, by imposing heavy stamp duties. Since the Union the stamp duties on legal proceedings had increased threefold. To a rich country, like England, this system was injurious and oppressive; but when applied to a poor country, like Ireland, it amounted almost to a denial of justice. The consequence was, that while the stamp duties were increased in nominal amount, the revenue arising from them was reduced. This did not proceed from an abatement of the spirit of litigation, nor from any diminution of the necessity of claiming disputed rights by legal process, but from an absolute inability to pay for justice under the heavy duties imposed upon legal proceedings. As an illustration and a proof of this statement, he might amuse their lordships by describing the singular ingenuity with which the lower classes in the west of Ireland contrived to obtain a legal decision on disputed claims, without giving the revenue

the benefit of their litigation—a mode of proceeding which, adopted in the circumstances, confirmed the opinion expressed by Sir J. Davis, of the disposition of the people to rely upon the award of law. In the west part of Ireland, when two parties, as was often the case, disputed upon a piece of ground, their singular and whimsical mode of settling the claims was, to create a riot, to appear on the field, and fight it out. Afterwards each adjudicated the other before the magistrate, and the person to whom the assistant barrister awarded damages, rested in the possession of the land, with a broken head into the bargain. The decrease of the amount of law proceedings, taken in connexion with the increase of the stamp duties, sufficiently evinced that taxation among the lower classes in Ireland had become a bar to justice—had shut them out from law, and forced them upon the singular expedient which he had mentioned. Another subject connected with magistracy and the administration of law in the country, deserved some notice—he alluded to absenteeism. He was free to allow that he did not raise so high as some others the effect of absenteeism on the wealth and the resources of the country. He believed it was now the universal opinion of political economists—an opinion in which he concurred—that the produce of land which could be exported and given to absent landlords constituted its wealth. In a moral point of view, however, it was to be viewed with regret, and he allowed that source of injury to Ireland its full effect; but in this, Government could do much. The effect of taxation, which might induce parties to go abroad, might be reduced. Inducements should be offered to reside in the country by diminishing the burdens of it, by facilitating the means of education, and by giving to those who were inclined to remain the full protection of law and government. If honours were to be conferred, they should be conferred upon those who resided in the country, and performed the duties which their situation in society required. He came now to one of the great causes of the miseries of Ireland—one great source of the agitation—he meant the tithe system. That population which he had mentioned as so numerous, so little employed, and so ill supported, which was burdened with such a weight of taxation, which possessed in the body of its magistracy sometimes persons so unworthy of their office; among whom justice was so much obstructed by imposts on legal proceedings, and who were deprived by absenteeism of the protection and example of their natural guardians—this population, he said, was still further exposed to an impost the least congenial to its feelings, which it viewed with the greatest hostility, which in its amount was often complained of as being oppressive, and the collection of which was enforced by laws still more tyrannical and offensive. This tax had another peculiarly odious feature—that it bore hardest on the people in the time of the greatest distress; that it rose precisely in the proportion of that distress. Cases had even occurred in which this impost was levied, when the parties on whom it was levied could make it appear that they had no profits at all. It therefore aggravated, in the highest degree, the evils of a depreciation of the price of produce arising from other causes. Such was the nature of the evil of which he complained, experienced in the tithe system, and for which their lordships ought not to delay the endeavour to remedy. Before he proceeded to state what might be considered as a remedy, he wished to make a few observations—which, however, those who knew him might think unnecessary—to guard himself against being supposed as intending to throw any imputation on the body of the church: he had said at the beginning of his speech, that he would avoid all reflections on bodies of men. He complained not of men, but of the situation and circumstances in which they were placed which made it necessary for them to act in a particular way. He admitted, with regard to the clergy, that they did much good, and that in general they did not exact more than they were entitled to—many of them did not exact so much. But while he professed his respect for the church, he was sure that all the noble lords who heard him, and the right rev. prelates on the benches opposite, would agree with him when he said that the church of Ireland was supported for the benefit of Ireland, and not for itself. He must say, for the credit of the clergy, that from the knowledge of the system on which they were bound to act with regard to tithes, many of them rather renounced a part of their living than incur the odium of exacting all their rights. In the county of Cork, he had heard, for instance, that many of them declined to receive the tithe upon flax, because it could not be collected without creating great distress, and he might state this as a circumstance decisive of the disadvantages of the system as it at present existed. He wished to see the tithes placed on such a footing that the clergy could have their due without harassing the feelings of the most generous part of them, by forcing them, in order to obtain their income, to carry on proceeding hostile to the feelings of those whose good will they must be most anxious to cultivate. If the church was entitled to support, it ought to have that kind of support which would not drive the most meritorious members of it rather to forego their rights than exact them by means of rigour, which enabled the less respectable and more selfish part of them to attain their full income by provoking and irritating the people. He might now state some facts with regard to the proceedings in Ireland, which, without comment, would evince the irritating nature of the present system. A list had been presented to

the other house of Parliament of these proceedings, which, though incomplete, would be sufficient to give their lordships an idea of the extent of litigation. In the course of the last six years, there had been, in the ecclesiastical courts, trials to the amount of 2,179. The list was incomplete for the civil court, because a distinction was not drawn between tithe cases and other cases in all the counties; but during the same period, there had been placed in only six counties of the south, 7,149 trials. In the county of Kilkenny alone, 2,195 tithe cases had been tried. He had made a calculation of what was likely to be the number in the other counties, taking the six counties to which he had alluded as data; and it appeared that the number of cases for six years respecting tithes over all Ireland, would amount to 17,327. Many of those cases involved only the sum of five pounds. One magistrate mentioned that 100 came before him in a week, which the sums were from 4d. to 5s., and the expense incurred on each process was 3s. He would now describe to their lordships the mode of proceeding in the recovering of tithe. It was the custom in the beginning of the year to send out two tithe valuers. Sometimes the value was stated to the farmer, and sometimes not till the crop was ripe; and then the clergy had it in their power either to demand the price at which the grain was first brought to market, if that price was sufficiently high, or to wait till the price rose, if it improved at a subsequent part of the year, provided the farmer did not take the precaution of calling the clergyman to take his tithe upon the ground. In this latter case, he was met by the peculiarly dangerous and oppressive law, of which, though it existed in this country, their lordships might not be aware, that if three farmers in the same parish appointed the same day for the clergyman to levy his tithe on the ground, they might be indicted for a conspiracy. He did not say that this law was often executed, but this he would say—that if not executed it was unnecessary; and that if necessary, that system must be detestable which was supported by so iniquitous and tyrannical an enactment. He might likewise be permitted to remind their lordships, that in a country like some parts of Ireland, where the animosities between the clergy and the people ran high, it was not improbable that it might sometimes be put in force. Though the clergy in general were of too liberal a spirit, and loved justice too much, to avail themselves of the oppressive power which it had placed at their disposal, in a climate so variable as Ireland, where it was necessary to secure the crop at a particular time with promptitude from the weather, it might so happen that not only three, but a considerable portion of the parish might be obliged to give notice on the same day. Evil consequences might, therefore, arise if the clergyman and his parish were in a previous state of hostility. Another great evil, arising from the tithe system, was the uncertainty of levying that kind of tax upon the potato-garden—a tax in the collection of which the clergy were often exposed to danger; a tax which the most meritorious of the clergy often refrained from exacting, and which rewarded the selfish and the oppressive. Having said thus much on the evils of the present system, he would state that a commutation, to which he could see no objection, would be the best cure. He was sure that he should not, in making this proposition, have to encounter an objection, either from their lordships or from any of the right rev. prelates, that tithes were founded upon divine right, because against such an opinion he had the declaration of the church, which pronounced, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that to say "tithes were of divine right, was the greatest and grossest of errors into which the church of Rome had fallen." But while he maintained this opinion, he would allow that they were entitled to the same protection as all other property, and if dealt with, should be as guardedly and cautiously touched as any other property, not only for the church itself, but for the advantage of the country. Before he could recommend a commutation, therefore, he should be obliged to show, that by it the property would not suffer, and that the interests of the church would not be deteriorated. He would keep in view three points to regulate this measure. First, he would not recommend a commutation of the tithe of the church, which, as a lay proprietor, he would not himself accept. Secondly, he would not do anything which would not leave the church in the same state with regard to wealth as before. Thirdly, he would adopt no plan by which the church would be rendered more dependent on the state; and he would assure the right reverend bishops opposite, that if he could discover any scheme by which he could render them more independent, that scheme he would be most willing to adopt. Having thus guarded himself from any suspicion of intending injury to the interests of the church, he would suggest, whether means might not be devised similar to those employed in Scotland, by a jury fixing the price of grain, not for one year, but for five or six years; and thus levying the tithe upon the landlord, and not upon the tenant. With regard to Ireland, he would think it an improvement if the money which was the price of the tithe, and not the corn, was given to the clergy by the proprietor instead of the occupier of land. The clergy would then come in contact, not with the Catholic population, but with the Protestant landlords, who might be enabled, by raising money equivalent to the value of the tithe, to buy land and settle it on the church, relieving themselves from all future burdens. He recommended this, not as what he would wish to see carried into effect in England, for he thought nothing could be more objectionable

than to render the clergyman a landed proprietor; but he stated it as applicable to the church of Ireland, and as in principle not unknown to the law of England. This species of commutation had been established in the parish of Clifden, where, in the division of a common, there was not only set aside a portion of it, as had been usual in other cases, for the clergyman in lieu of tithes, but where the sum of 9,000l. had been raised by the landed proprietors to buy land, in lieu of the existing tithe, and thus exonerate for ever their own estates from that burden. A bill to this effect had passed the legislature, and had met with no opposition from the right rev. prelates opposite. Though he would object to the general adoption of such a plan in England, there were peculiar circumstances in the state of Ireland which rendered it advisable. The clergy in many parts of that country were looked upon rather as magistrates than as clergymen, and were engaged rather in executing civil than religious duties. These duties they would be able to perform with more respectability by being looked upon as landed proprietors, than as individuals who depended on the levying of tithes for their support from a hostile population. He would only touch upon another subject before he sat down, and it was intimately connected with the system of tithes—he meant assessment for the building and re-building of Protestant churches. The expense was particularly obnoxious, because it fell on the Catholic population, who were thus obliged to build for others, places of worship which they never frequented themselves. The first fruits which were set apart for this purpose had decreased rather than increased since the time of Queen Anne. He proposed that a more accurate valuation of them should be taken, and their produce applied to this purpose, to relieve from a burden the Catholic population, to whom the levying of such a tax must be particularly obnoxious. This was a subject which must necessarily demand the attention of Parliament: it was, undoubtedly, of all subjects, the most important, and must press itself in every form on the consideration of the legislature. Means ought to be taken to relieve the minister of the church in Ireland, from the odium which the present system excited against him; to provide for his maintenance in a manner beneficial to himself, and salutary for the interest of the country; to lay the foundation of a friendly and wholesome intercourse between the clergyman and his flock; and to make the basis of property, the tranquillity of the country, permanent and secure. He had now to propose for the consideration of the house, the motion with which he should conclude his address; and if their lordships could feel any doubt as to the line of duty they should adopt—if they could feel any doubt with respect to the causes which had reduced Ireland to the situation in which she now stood, he could wish them to transport themselves in imagination from the metropolis of this wealthy country to some remote and desolated parish of that unfortunate land to which he had directed their attention, there to mark the situation to which the measures applied to that country had brought it. They would find that gentlemen who were anxious to reside there, were driven away by the distraction of the times, to seek an asylum in another country; while others were deprived, their ordinary means being removed, of those sources of legitimate influence, the exercise of which would be most valuable to those around them. He wished their lordships to see, in that parish, the population bereaved of their natural protectors, deriving a precarious subsistence, and paying rent, not by the exertion of honest industry, but by a persevering and systematic violation of the laws of the country. He would show them that remote population cut off from the fair administration of justice, and deprived of that right which belonged to the meanest individual—the right, when accused, of going before a jury of the country. He would show them, that population, deprived, or—what amounted to the same thing—believing they were deprived, of the protecting and fostering superintendance of an honest, upright, and impartial magistracy: he would call on them to look on that miserable population, suffering under the oppression of the tithe system; and then he would ask their lordships whether, in a state of society so degraded, so abandoned by the protection of the law, so remote from all those guards that preserved and improved society in this country—whether, when they saw a population advancing, as he knew it had done, in point of numbers, but advancing also in hostility to the laws of the country, advancing in hostility to moral feeling, and a disregard of all the moral obligations of life—becoming the decided enemies of this country, and almost realizing the words of Bacon, “that Ireland civilized, would be more dreadful than Ireland savage.” He would ask them, whether they could, in such a state of things, oppose the proposition he meant to make for the removal of those manifest evils? He hoped the expectation so justly raised last year by the royal visit to that country would be realized; and that all those auspicious anticipations in which the people had indulged would not be lost for ever. He trusted that the bright splendour of that happy day when His Majesty’s foot first touched the soil of Ireland might not pass away in a succeeding period of gloom, but that, by the exertions of their lordships, it might become a glorious epoch in the history of that country. (hear, hear.) All minor interests would, he hoped, be sacrificed to the public good, and such wise and persevering efforts made as would effectually remedy the evils of that part

of the empire (hear, hear.) His lordship concluded by moving—“That it is the opinion of this house that the affairs of Ireland should be immediately taken into consideration by Parliament, with a view to improve the condition of the people, and more especially to ensure its tranquillity.”

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, he felt the full force of all that had fallen from the noble marquis; and he must in the outset admit that a subject of greater importance than the state of Ireland could not be brought under the consideration of the house. The interest he felt in that subject was augmented by the fair, candid, and temperate manner in which it had been introduced by the noble marquis; and in discussing the several important topics to which the noble marquis had called their attention, he should do so without any disposition, either to introduce extraneous matter, or to aggravate any of those evils in the state of Ireland, or of any other part of the empire, the existence of which they must all admit, but which he held it not desirable to introduce on this occasion. In looking at the question, he would adhere closely to the points noticed by the noble Marquis; and if he felt any peculiar objection to voting for this resolution, it was, because, under the peculiar circumstances which now existed, he could not see any powerful necessity, any strong reason, which called for its adoption. He felt that it was essential on the part of the government, and peculiarly essential on the part of the noble lord who was at the head of the government of Ireland, to devise measures for restoring and preserving the tranquillity of that country, and therefore he would oppose the motion as unnecessary. It was necessary, in considering this subject, to look in the first instance to the real state of Ireland; for he thought, that before they applied the remedy, they ought to endeavour to find out the cause of the evil. It was, in his opinion, owing in a great measure to the source of the evil having been mistaken, that an effectual remedy had not yet been applied to remove it. The real question had not been considered; and why? because it was always the interest of faction (he did not apply the observation to any thing that had fallen from the noble marquis) to give a direction to grievances, entirely different from that which actually caused them—to represent evils as growing out of the measures of Government—to trace disturbance and discontent to the conduct of this or that administration. Now, instead of adopting that principle, they ought, in considering the state of a country labouring under such difficulties, as Ireland confessedly did, to proceed to the origin of those difficulties. In considering the state of Ireland, or of any other country, there was always as he had stated on a former occasion, a distinction to be borne in mind—first, whether the evils of the state arose out of the situation in which the governors stood to the governed, or, second, whether they grew out of the state of society itself, from the relation in which the great body of the people (those who laboured for their daily subsistence), stood to those who possessed great property? On those principles did the situation of every state in the history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day, depend. If they looked to ancient time—to those states which employed their youth, where the contest was about liberty. Whether it was between a democracy or an aristocracy—whether it was between patricians or plebeians, what was the state of the great body of people? Even in those countries where, in consequence of an extended degree of freedom, a greater number of private individuals were called on to take a part in the affairs of the state, what was the situation of the people? It was that of interminable slavery. If they looked to modern states—to the United States of America, for instance, where the theory of liberty was carried to a degree never before known in the world, it would be found that in several of the provinces the great mass of the labouring population was in a state of absolute slavery; and they would find this principle applying in a greater or less degree to different other countries in Europe, whether it was slavery or bondage to the land, as in the case of serfs, or was recognized under some other form. It might exist under a free as well as under an absolute Government, though, in one sense, it might not form a part of the constitution of the state; but the fact showed, that, in considering the state of a country, one question should be particularly inquired into—namely, “what is the relation of those who labour to those who have property; and what is the relation between those who govern, and those who are governed?” He did not mean to say that this was directly applicable to the case of Ireland, but he stated it as illustrative of the principle he had laid down; and in this particular view, he would undertake to show, if the case of Ireland were considered fairly, that in point of fact nine-tenths of the evils which afflicted Ireland were not to be ascribed to the measures directed by Government, but to the state of society in that country, and the relation of those who laboured to those who possessed property. He had the whole history of Ireland in support of this fact. With the exception of the year 1798, when a conspiracy was set on foot to mature a rebellion, and a French force landed in Ireland for the purpose of overturning the Government—with that one exception all the other insurrections in Ireland were directed against the property, not against the government of the country. What occurred last year might be adduced in proof of this assertion. The noble marquis had alluded to his Majesty’s visit to Ireland: he had expatiated on the good whic

might be expected from it, and on the benefits which it had already in some degree, produced. Their Lordships knew the enthusiasms with which his Majesty was received—they were acquainted with the feelings to which his visit gave rise, and the sentiments which it created; and yet it was notorious, that the King had scarcely quitted the country when those dreadful disturbances began. He had alluded, on a former occasion, to a letter, the contents of which had not, and he was sure could not, be contradicted by any person conversant with the state of Ireland, in which the writer said, "that if his Majesty landed that moment at Limerick, (the city which might be considered the head-quarters of insurrection,) he would be received with as much enthusiasm as had been manifested when he arrived in Dublin." If their lordships looked at the different proclamations, hand-bills, and notices, which though they would sometimes find religious difference mentioned (and that in a slight degree), they would hardly perceive any notice taken of the Government. This fortified his argument, that it was an insurrection against property, and not against the Government of the country. He stated this, because it was necessary to a due consideration of the state of Ireland, and not as a matter of gratification; because, if the disturbances were caused by any evils occasioned by the measures of Government, it would be much more easy to arrive at, and correct the cause, than to devise a remedy for mischiefs whose source was so much more remote and difficult of approach. The noble marquis had indeed admitted in some degree the truth of this position. If they looked to the constitution of this country, and the manner in which it was enjoyed in the three portions of the empire, England, Scotland, and Ireland, they would find that Ireland had her full share of its benefits. In point of prosperity, Scotland was superior to Ireland. Yet, with respect to the popular part of a government, Scotland possessed it in the least, and Ireland in the highest degree. The first object of a constitution like that of England was the representation of the people. Scotland possessed very little indeed of what could be called popular representation. (*hear, hear.*) Now what was the state of Ireland in that respect? The situation of Ireland, as to popular representation, very far exceeded that of England. A noble lord, of high connexions and great ability, had in another place brought under consideration a plan for a reform of the representation of the people in Parliament. That measure, he was glad to say, had not proved successful; but if that noble lord had succeeded in attaining his object, he (Lord Liverpool) would assert, that even under this new plan the popular representation of England would not have been so great as the popular representation of Ireland was at the present moment. Out of 100 members that represented Ireland, 64 were returned by counties. They were elected, most inconveniently, he thought, on a principle very nearly approaching to that of universal suffrage; and with respect to the remainder, a very large portion were elected for popular places. Not less than between 80 and 90 of those gentlemen were returned, in the strictest sense of the word, by popular election. So that not only had Ireland, in that respect, nothing to complain of, but she had an extensive system of popular representation as over the wishes of an ardent reformer could desire. With respect to the laws, Ireland enjoyed what Scotland did not enjoy at least in its fullest extent. Ireland enjoyed the trial by jury, to the same extent that England did. She had the advantage of able and independent Judges; and the correct way in which justice was administered there, might be inferred from the very small number of appeals from that country which were introduced to their lordships notice. Considering that circumstance, it might be fairly assumed, that justice was administered in Ireland, on as sound a principle as that which prevailed in England. Whether he looked to the constitution of the country—whether he looked to the general state of the law of the country—whether he looked at what appeared to be the feelings of Ireland—feelings which he looked to with great regard and tenderness—he had a right to contend, that it was not hostility to the British government—that it was not a desire of reform in Parliament—that it was not a wish for those changes, which, in moments of distress, they saw agitating large bodies of men in this country, that actuated the people of Ireland, and produced the evils which they all deplored. No; those evils arose from the internal state of society in Ireland, and the relation in which the great body of the people in that country stood with respect to that portion of the people who had property. The noble marquis had attributed much of the misery of Ireland to the taxation imposed on it and to the mode adopted for the collection of the revenue. On this part of the subject, he desired the attention of their lordships to a few facts, and he called on them not to forget what the noble marquis had himself admitted, as to the fertility of the soil of Ireland—the real wealth of that country. When they considered that this country (the entire population of the empire being 14,000,000 of inhabitants) paid annually 50,000,000l. of taxes, and that Ireland did not pay, according to the statement of the noble marquis himself, more than 4,000,000l. of taxes he would ask their lordships to say whether it could be fairly asserted that the burden imposed on the sister-country was excessive or intolerable, or more in proportion than she could bear? The noble marquis had alluded to the diminution of the revenue in Ireland since the war. He (Lord Liverpool) admitted the fact, because he admitted that Ireland was one of those

countries that had suffered from the excessive diminution of expenditure, which occurred in consequence of the peace. There was not a noble lord who heard him, but knew that the South of Ireland had suffered greatly. During the war, an immense supply for our navy and for the colonies was drawn from that quarter. The peace had produced a great diminution of expenditure, which had affected the rents and the revenue, and created the present distress. The cause, then, of the failure of the revenue was plain and simple. It arose from the reduction of the expenditure, consequent on peace: the reduction of the expenditure produced reduction of rents—reduction of rents operated against the demand for commodities—and thus the revenue suffered. But could it be said, that this country had acted unfairly towards Ireland, with respect to revenue, when it was recollect that England took the debt of Ireland on her own shoulders, and that the interest of that debt was now paid out of the burdens laid on the people—could any one say, that Ireland had not been treated with fairness, generosity, and kindness, when such a boon as this was extended to her, and he thought very wisely? With respect to the laws relating to distillation, a former secretary for Ireland had repealed all the acts that were complained of, and adopted a new system. The effect of this was such an increase of industry in every part of Ireland, that the re-enactment of those very laws was anxiously desired by almost the whole representation of that country, for the purpose of securing its tranquillity; and, he believed, the measure which was introduced for that purpose, was opposed by only 16 members in the other house. It was, however, a subject of great importance, and one which had been particularly investigated by the Commission which was appointed last year. It was not, he thought, desirable to meddle with the question, until something permanent could be effected, and with that view it would be necessary to wait for the report of the commissioners. With respect to the question of absences, the noble marquis must perceive that it was one of very great delicacy. As to the question of political economy,—whether it was the same thing for a country that such large masses of money should be drawn from it, instead of being spent in it,—on that question he would not enter because there was a paramount question which greatly transcended that of political economy—he meant the more effect of the absentee system (*hear, hear.*) There was no calculating the effect it must produce. In this country, circumstances sometimes prevented the residence of a family on a particular estate for a generation; but what must be the effect, when, from generation to generation, the tenant only knew his landlord by name? As to the state of the magistracy in Ireland, he believed no just complaint was ever made to the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Lieutenant, of the conduct of a magistrate, which did not call forth animadversion and punishment. But where there was so much party and faction, where magistrates were liable, from various causes, to misrepresentation, it required the exercise of great prudence and great caution, before the strong measure of striking men out of the commission of the peace was reported to. The noble marquis had stated, that in the administration of justice, a distinction was made between Catholics and Protestants. As far as he (Lord Liverpool) knew any thing of the state of the country, he believed that no distinction, disadvantageous to the Roman Catholics, was ever made; and he was sure, if such a circumstance were proved, the offending party would be severely punished. The noble marquis, in touching on this part of the subject, had forgotten to state, that within a very few years, measures had been taken to place the important office of the shrievalty in Ireland on the same footing that it was placed on in England. He had also forgotten to mention, that measures had been taken for reforming the whole system of grand juries in Ireland. (*hear, hear.*) He mentioned these circumstances to show, that every desire existed, on the part of Government, to assimilate, wherever it was possible, the law of Ireland to that of England. Unfortunately, however, in many cases, the difference between the customs of the two countries was such, that they were imperatively bound to look for new principles applicable to the protection of that people under their peculiar circumstances. Let them look to Scotland before 1745, and the abolition of inheritable jurisdictions, and say, whether her state was not more unfortunate than that of Ireland now. The measures adopted for the benefit of Scotland had produced a good effect; and if the measures now in progress for the relief of Ireland were aided and assisted by the nobility and gentry in that country, he could not suppose but that they would effect, not an immediate, but a progressive improvement in the situation of the people. But as a noble lord had said on a former night, they must cause the laws to be obeyed by high and low, by rich and poor; the upper orders as well as the lower must be compelled to pay obedience to them. The great must encourage the poor to respect the laws, and not, as was sometimes the case at present, the persons by whom they were incited to break them. (*hear, hear.*) He now came to the question of tithes: he must observe, that in arguing this question there was one point from which he and the noble marquis must start together. He would not touch on any divine right the clergyman had to tithes, but he would maintain that it was as sacred a right of property as any other. He would say, that the proprietor who had bought an estate, who had inherited an estate, or had the devise of an estate, had bought or inherited 9 parts only; and the 10th part was

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property of the church or of the lay impro priators, as firmly as the other parts were the property of the purchaser, the inheritor, or the devisee. It stood on the same principle as every other species of property, and they had no right whatever to touch it. He had no hesitation in saying, that the resident clergy of Ireland were as valuable a set of men to Ireland as any other. He spoke of them not merely as clergymen, but as resident proprietors. (*hear, hear.*) The greater proportion were resident in their parishes, and they spent the income raised upon their flocks amongst their flocks. And though, as in every other class of persons, there might be bad men amongst them, still it could not be denied, that much of what they received was devoted to acts of charity; but whether or not, their incomes were spent in the country. They did not, he believed, on the whole, receive half their dues; and it was notorious that, where the proprietor of the land paid the tithes, the peasant or farmer to whom the land was let, paid more in addition to his rent, than would have been demanded if he himself paid the tithe. Those who recommended this plan professed to have the interest of Ireland at heart. And what did they mean to do? They wished to adopt a system that would still farther impoverish and oppress that country, which would make the people pay double what they paid at present; and instead of having a body of resident clergy, would give them a body of non-resident landlords. Could any thing more unjust be done? The moment the question came to be considered, no honourable mind could entertain the project. He argued, first, that the right was the right of property; and second, that it was a right looking to the exercise of it in the hands of those by whom it was enjoyed, which was as well exercised as if it were in any other hands. The noble marquis had pointed out the hardship arising from the collection of tithes in Ireland; but the distinction between the two countries in this respect was easily accounted for. A tithe income of 4000, a year in England would probably be collected from 30 or 40 persons, but the same amount in Ireland would be collected from 1,4000 or 1,5600 individuals. Let any one consider the burden this threw on the clergyman, the derangement of his affairs which it occasioned, and the endless litigation to which it must give rise, and he would wish that some remedy could be provided. The question was then what remedy could be applied to it; The obvious, just, and natural remedy was this—to let the proprietor pay the tithe, and let him make an arrangement with the farmer out of the rent. By adopting a measure that would enable the clergyman to lease his tithes for a certain number of years to the proprietor, the evil would be completely removed. If the proprietors were willing to be parties to this measure, where was the difficulty? The clergy, he was sure, would consent to the plan; and if there were any obstruction, it must come from the proprietors. Should both agree to it, they might safely come to Parliament for its aid and assistance. It was a fact not to be denied, that the subdivisions of property in Ireland arrested the progress of civilization: in this country it was found that civilization was in proportion to the magnitude of estates. In Ireland there were an immense number of forty shilling freeholders, and while this state of things continued, the evils that had been the subject of complaint must be aggravated. Several measures to ameliorate the condition of Ireland would in a short time come under the consideration of their lordships: one of them had been introduced by a right hon. friend (Mr. Goolburn) last night into the House of Commons, and its object was to make improvements in the present system of tithes. He (the Earl of Liverpool) wished it to be understood, that it was not the only plan ministers had in contemplation, but they had thought it advisable to introduce that bill in the course of the present session, leaving the other important branches of the subject to future deliberation: hereafter, by the working of this measure, ministers would be able to ascertain how much farther its principle might be carried. The police bill was another endeavour to improve the condition and promote the tranquillity of Ireland. He was aware that grave objections had been stated to it (*hear,*) but he believed that they were founded upon an erroneous view of its provisions—in short, he might say that some of them were founded upon a disposition to support those very abuses which, on other occasions, the objectors had been most desirous to remove. However it would be sufficiently early to state his opinion on the question when the bill was before the house. There was one more point to which he wished shortly to advert before he sat down. He had already expressed his sense of what was due to the noble marquis for the time at which and the manner in which, he had brought this subject forward; but he could not allow the question to come to a vote without saying a few words upon the delay on which he had spoken on the part of the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The appointment of the distinguished individual who filled the office of Viceroy had received the praise of the noble marquis, and perhaps he was not aware, or at least did not reflect at the time he spoke, that the Viceroy, in consequence of the nature and duration of the discussions in parliament, had been deprived of that assistance which at all times and to all men, however gifted, must be of the utmost importance. Since his appointment, it ought not to be forgotten that he had also been subject to indisposition. It was due to him to say, that there never was an individual who more completely put the whole energies of his soul into a system which he might be disposed to try; but at

the same time he would never put his hand and give his sanction to a hasty measure; he would reflect upon it deeply, long, and anxiously before he made up his mind: he would weigh a measure in all its bearings and the result would be the result of his cool and deliberate judgment. It was not, therefore, to be expected that he would, without due consideration, authorize the introduction of any measure. In addition to his great qualifications to govern Ireland, he was rendered the more fit for the duty by his particular attachment to it. In that country he had first drawn breath—in that country he had first distinguished himself—in that country he had commenced that brilliant career which he had continued in England; and he had returned to it with all the ardent feelings of an Irishman, and with an anxious desire that the latest acts of his political life should be devoted to the happiness of his native country. (*hear.*) Without intending the slightest disrespect to the noble marquis (Lansdown), he should meet his resolution by moving the previous question.

The amendment of the Earl of LIVERPOOL having been put,

The Earl of LIMERICK rose, and disclaimed all party views in the consideration of this most important subject. He maintained the necessity of adopting either the resolution of the noble marquis, or some other of a like nature. The time had come, the crisis had arrived, when, if the attention of parliament and the country were not called to the state of Ireland, the most lamentable consequences might result. After noticing the relation between the proprietors of the soil and its tenants, he contended that, generally speaking, no better landlords were to be found in the world than in Ireland. The evils of that country were not to be attributed to them, but to the odious system of excise laws which barbarized the inhabitants of the country. He objected, also, to the mode in which popular elections were conducted, arguing that they unduly excited the ambition of the middling classes, and diverted their attention from the objects to which it ought to be devoted: on this account also the interests of Ireland had severely suffered. With respect to the question of tithes, he would observe, in the first place, that as he was as it were descended from the church, (his father and grandfather having been clergymen,) he must naturally feel a strong interest in the preservation of its rights. The noble earl had said that tithes were as sacred as private property; and, admitting the fact, could not Parliament for the general good, deal with it as it had done with other species of private property? He did not, of course, advocate the spoliation of the church; for if he did, he knew that he should be advocating his own spoliation, perhaps at no distant day. Nevertheless, he did advocate a commutation of tithes, because he felt, notwithstanding what had fallen from the noble earl, that it might be accomplished by some of the various methods hinted at by the noble marquis. If it were said that after the change had been effected, the clergymen would be less disposed to reside among his parishioners than at present, he would answer, that the clergyman would be more disposed to live among those with whom he could always be upon good terms, and free from the vexations and heart-burnings by which both he and his flock were now almost invariably disturbed. The noble earl having made a few brief remarks upon the effects of the new police bill which did not reach our ear, proceeded to notice the plan brought forward by the secretary for Ireland: he characterized it as a bill to make the soil responsible to the clergyman, and expressed his decided objection to it, observing that at the present moment landlords obtained but little; but if the measure were passed into a law, they might get nothing.

The LORD CHANCELLOR wished to say a few words regarding the administration of justice in Ireland, as he had some means of forming a judgment on the subject, in consequence of the appeals that came before this house as the court of *dernier resort*. The small number of appeals from Ireland did not lead him to suppose that the people were in general at all dissatisfied with the decisions of the judges. He had recently taken an opportunity of looking into the present state of the appeals upon the table. The house was aware that some time since, for the greater despatch of them, provision had been made that the Lord Chancellor should sit to hear them for three days in each week; and he found that for the 11 years previous to that regulation the number of appeals was 186: for the 11 years subsequent to that regulation, as the shop (to use a vulgar phrase) had been open to more customers, they had increased to 396. Such had been the effect of the invitation held out. In order, however, to bring these facts to bear upon the present question, he must observe, that he had made a calculation of the number of consecutive days that would probably be occupied in hearing and deciding those only now on the list, and he found that the English, Irish, and Welsh appeals might be dismissed in 50 days while 400 days would most likely be insufficient for those from Scotland only. (*hear.*) The disproportion was singular. Why the Scotch were so dissatisfied with the determinations of their judges, he did not pretend to decide; but certain it was that the Irish did not appear to have the same grounds of complaint. On the subject of tithes, he could not avoid, before the debate came to a conclusion, expressing his deep regret that a noble marquis (Lansdown), whose name must be coupled with everything respectable, had never spoken of them but under the terms of tax and impost. With the utmost deference, he would tell that noble mar-

quis, that the nine-tenths of the estates belonging to him might be just as fairly so characterised, as the one-tenth that was the property of the clergy. (*hear, hear.*) To the noble earl who had taken the trouble to tell the house that he was descended from his father, nay, even from his grandfather (*laughter*), he would also say, that he (the Lord Chancellor) had just as much right to interfere with the receipts of his (the Earl of Limerick's) rents, as he (the Earl of Limerick) had to interfere with the tithes of the clergy. (*hear.*) The one-tenth of the estate he called his own, was no more his property than it was the property of any other man.

The Marquis of DOWNSHIRE expressed his disappointment at the manner in which the resolution of his noble friend had been met by ministers. The noble earl (Liverpool), in his opinion, had offered nothing to show that it ought not to be adopted, especially as it pledged the house in no particular measure, but only to institute an inquiry into a subject of the highest importance. The great objection to tithes in Ireland was, that they were a tax upon all improvements: it was in this way they operated to retard the progress of civilization. The noble earl had spoken of the advantages of a resident clergy, but, by a report upon the table it appeared, that in many instances parishes were united; consequently the livings were very extensive, and in proportion to the extent, the advantages of residence would be diminished. In the report to which he had referred, he found that in a diocese of Ireland, consisting of 201,000 acres, one clergyman only held a living of 34,000 acres, (*hear, hear.*) It was true, that part of this land was waste, but it was not less true that the wide surface of the living must prevent the clergyman from fully discharging the duties of the office. Ought not this defect to be remedied, and could it not be remedied to the advantage of religion? (*hear.*) He meant to cast no reflections on the noble marquis at the head of the Irish Government: he had, no doubt, turned his attention most seriously to this important subject: he had, no doubt, used his utmost exertions to make all due inquiries before he recommended the adoption of measure, but it was a melancholy fact that there was no place in the world where truth was elicited with greater difficulty than in Ireland. With regard to the police bill that had been brought into the other house of parliament, he saw many objections to it, and not the least of them; that it would have the effect of discouraging most respectable magistrates from exerting themselves for the public benefit; they and he must object to the introduction of stipendiary magistrates. Very great difficulties presented themselves in considering the question of the residence of the great landed proprietors; much might be accomplished if they would devote only a small portion of their time and incomes to the improvement of the condition of their country. If they could not reside, they might appoint agents of education and respectability, who would not be content with being heard of merely at those periods of the year when rents became due.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE felt called upon to notice some points that had arisen during the discussion. He entertained every respect for the noble marquis at the head of the government of Ireland, and could not but be surprised at the mode in which the observations of the noble marquis (Lansdown) had been taken up by the noble earl (Liverpool). The speech of the noble marquis had been totally divested of party feeling: from its language no man could have judged on which side of the house he sat, while the answer to it had been the speech of a minister of the crown—a reply, as it were, to an attack upon the government. If the complaint were that the noble marquis had brought the subject forward here before the bill from the other house of Parliament arrived, he would ask why was this branch of the legislature to abandon its initiative function? Why, if a subject of debate was first broached here, was it to be treated as a matter of accusation against ministers? The noble earl had also treated the remarks of the noble marquis as if they had contained an attack upon the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: they ought not to be viewed at all in that light. He (Lord Donoughmore) had seen the noble marquis (Welllesley) in business, and it was but justice to say, that he had never witnessed the display of greater talent, or of greater perseverance, governed by no feeling but that which arose from an anxiety to do good. He had been deprived of the ordinary assistance enjoyed by persons in his most responsible situation, but he had discharged his duty like an honest man; and the greatest benefits might be anticipated to Ireland from his government. He had hitherto, endeavoured to apply a remedy to every evil within his reach; but before he proceeded to act, it was his constant habit to make himself master of all the details of a subject: he had shown that he never would risk the great character he had acquired by an indiscreet and hasty measure, that might, perhaps, gratify the impatience of the public, or might secure the temporary approbation of those persons in Parliament who were naturally glad to find fault, and were only sorry when they found an opponent doing well. If no measure had hitherto been brought forward by the Lord Lieutenant, it was because he paused until he had completely ascertained its utility. The public were very much in the dark about these tithes—they naturally said, “let us know something about them.” Nobody could collect, however, from the speeches of this Majesty's government, who were to be the principal officers

under the proposed new measure. All that could be collected at present from ministers was that they were somewhat repugnant to the principle of a commutation of tithes. This was all that he (Lord Donoughmore) could gather from what had been said by gentlemen in the other house of Parliament, who had nothing to do with Ireland, except to make out a statement of her case. The bill that had been recently introduced into that house by a right hon. gentleman, so far from being favourable to a commutation of tithes, was meant to be an extinguisher upon the very principle. Their lordships had heard a great deal said about the magistracy of Ireland. That magistracy was in a very bad state, no doubt. The appointment of the magistrates rested principally with the Chancellor of Ireland; and if any were recommended by a privy counsellor, for instance, the Chancellor was obliged to pay deference to that recommendation. For any such appointments, therefore, it would be very invidious to blame a Chancellor thus situated. But his (Lord Donoughmore's) charge was against the Government collectively. Why did not ministers take measures for the revision of the whole commission? God knew that Ireland was already sufficiently unfortunate; but when the bill in question should have passed, she would be, indeed, degraded. For what did it do? Why, it went to give the Government the appointment of constables throughout Ireland; and by this means, it placed the whole population of Ireland under the excessive powers of local magistrates. Ruling that in the disturbed districts, as they were called, this measure was to be justified or palliated as one of necessity, why should it be applied to those which were differently circumstanced—to Ulster and Connacht, for instance? Was the whole country to be needlessly placed under the operation of one and the same measure? He was very willing to give his Majesty's ministers, in what they had done in this case, credit for their good intentions, but he was constrained to say, that the measure which they had adopted would be altogether inefficient, particularly if nothing was done towards the commutation of tithes. He agreed with the noble earl (Liverpool) that no distinction ought to be taken in the administration of justice, as between Catholics and Protestants. We understood the noble earl to conclude by expressing an intention of supporting the motion.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH conceived that the present motion was brought forward at a very late period in the history of the government, into the consequences of which it called upon their lordships to inquire. It might very well have been originated shortly after the conquest of Ireland, or at the time of the revolution; but would any one affirm that it had never been called for before the present day? It had been said, that the motion before their lordships did not contain any censure upon his Majesty's Government; but if the speech which the noble marquis (of Downshire) who sat near him had that night delivered, were correct—and that it was correct in every respect, he (Lord Ellenborough) had no sort of doubt—he must take leave to say, that it implied the severest censure against his Majesty's Government. (*hear, hear.*) The noble earl at the head of his Majesty's Treasury had told their lordships, that the present distressed state of Ireland was owing, not to the laws of the country, but to the state of society there. Now he (Lord Ellenborough) would observe upon this, that he traced the state of society to the Statute Book of Ireland. Although many of the most objectionable and most penal statutes had been expunged or repealed, the grievance still subsisted in the effects which they had produced; and noble lords well knew that in many cases it did happen, that after the cause had been removed the effects would still continue to manifest themselves. How different would the state of Ireland have been from what she was now placed in, had a motion similar to that of the noble marquis (of Lansdown) been discussed in Parliament at the period of the Union, when they would have been treating with the interests, not of a starving population of seven millions, but of a population of five millions in a state of comparative prosperity. (*hear, hear.*) It would be matter of great regret to him (Lord Ellenborough) if any thing which might fall from him should have the effect of altering the tone of the debate. But he must declare his opinion (an opinion which he did not now, for the first time, entertain, but which he had before affirmed), that there could be no reasonable hope, in the mind of any noble lord, of permanent improvement in Ireland: no hope of the adoption of any beneficial change in the government of that country, under a government constituted as the present government of Great Britain was, or under any other government constituted in the same manner. (*hear.*) No such hope could be cherished until persons resident in Ireland were placed in the same position, in the eye of the law, with persons resident in England. But while a majority of the Irish people were placed in a suspicious point of view, as regarded the law—while several of his Majesty's ministers were found to concur in the same suspicion which was entertained by the law, however liberal or sincere the intentions of the noble earl opposite might be, he (Lord Ellenborough) did greatly fear that it was not in human nature, base as that was, that equal justice should be done between Catholics and Protestants. He was quite ready to acquit his Majesty's Government of all impropriety of intention; but he knew that men were capable, under the influence of feeling, prejudice, or misconception, of doing acts which, upon principle, they would view with ab-

horrence. (hear.) Their lordships had been desired to remember that Ireland was not taxed as England was—that she possessed, however, many of the most invaluable privileges which were secured to the English subject, such as the trial by jury: and then they had been instructed to look at Scotland, which enjoyed a far greater portion of property than Ireland, at the same time that she possessed a considerable less share of these advantages. But he would ask the noble earl whether she was subjected to the same evils? Had Scotland tithes? Had Scotland an hierarchy, professing opinions that were directly contrary to those of the great majority of the people by whom they were paid? And, above all, had not Scotland in these days strict justice? (hear, hear.) Now, what was the state of Scotland before she had strict justice. Let the noble earl look back in the history of that kingdom, to a period occurring many years before the time to which he had adverted in his speech; let him look back to the period when Scotland was first conquered by the Parliament. After that event a commission, headed by two of the ablest men in the kingdom, Lord Chief Justice St. John and Sir Harry Vane, was sent by the Parliament into Scotland, with the express charge “to inquire what was proper to be done in respect of the existing laws of the realm of Scotland.” The defective condition of those laws was notorious; and Parliament, accordingly despatched this English commission to distribute justice. They improved the law, and remodelled its administration accordingly throughout that country. Infinite opposition and discontent were at first excited; the Scots of that day—the Camerons and the Gordons and the Græmes—denounced the members of the commission and those who sent them, as baseless rascals; but happily—with a perfect indifference to the denunciations, and to every thing else but rule of right—the commission pursued its labours; and in the course of a few years Scotland enjoyed such strict justice, that the conquering nation could venture to quit it, leaving scarcely a single soldier to enforce the authority of the laws. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack had observed, that, to judge from the few appeals which came up from Ireland, no great evil could exist in the administration of justice in that kingdom. But, unhappily, the question was not only the administration of justice there between rich and rich, but between the rich and the poor. The evil complained of arose not out of the administration of the law by the judges, but by the magistrate. But did the noble and learned lord really suppose that it was possible for the poor peasant who happened to be wronged, his possessions consisting of two barren acres of land, to bring his appeal before their lordships, incumbered as it must necessarily be with all the expensive accompaniments of lawyers’ and solicitors’ bills, and parliament fees? (hear, hear.) But the noble earl (Liverpool) who was at the head of his Majesty’s Government appeared to think that tithes (one of the subjects which that noble lord had considered in his speech) possessed one advantage of a public and political nature—namely, that they brought the clergy into contact with the tenant of the soil. But what sort of contact was it—a forced or a voluntary one? To him (Lord Ellenborough) it appeared to be much the same species of contact as that of the person beaten with a stick. (a laugh.) His own opinion as to ^{the} tithes was with: that the clergyman, in future, ought to have all that he ^{has} at any time had, in the way of tithe; all that he could, in short, possibly have. Whatever the clergyman might have taken, on average of the last 10 years, he ought to take now: and his future tithes ought to bear the same proportion to the increasing produce of the soil, as the tithe he now took bore to its present produce. Whoever went further than this principle, put a limit to the possibility of effecting a commutation of tithes. It would not be possible to give a sum adequate to the demands of the clergyman, though they might give him a sum equal to what he now received. Unless this communication, in any bill to be adopted should be made compulsory on the parties, it would be perfectly ineffectual; at least he (Lord Ellenborough) could not conceive a man so blind to his own interest, as that he would voluntarily adopt such a system, if he considered it to be more to his advantage to withstand it. It was now some weeks since several petitions on the subject of commutation of tithes had been presented to their lordships; and the noble duke and marquis who presented them expressed their readiness to give their aid to any improvement that could be effected in the system. But those noble peers were themselves lay proprietors of tithes to a very large amount; and where the proprietor of the soil was also the proprietor of the tithes, their collection was quite impossible. The tithes must merge in the rent; and, accordingly, there were very extensive estates, indeed, in some parts of Ireland, in which they had so merged. (The noble lord (Ellenborough) after slightly touching upon some of the evils incident to the present system of collecting tithes in Ireland, proceeded to say)—The noble earl (Liverpool) had thought it necessary, to-night, to make a very laboured apology for the noble marquises at present at the head of the government of Ireland; and another noble earl (Lord Donoughmore), not perhaps, with any great advantage to the cause, which he advocated, had followed in the same strain of apology. But in order to do so, that noble lord (Donoughmore) had been obliged to put entirely out of consideration—to throw overboard, indeed, the two bills which had been lately introduced into the other house, contending that it was impossible they could have

originated with the noble marquis who presided over the Irish Government. Nothing was more remarkable than the tone in which those bills were alluded to. The spirit of departmental government actuated some noble lords so much, that the government of Ireland was considered in precisely the same light as that of an independent country. The noble earl (Liverpool), in particular, talked of it as if it was a separate and distinct government; as if the mandate of his Majesty’s ministers, collectively, did not run to every part of the united kingdom. He (Lord Ellenborough) must protest against the doctrine of separate individual, and exclusive responsibility; as if the ministers altogether were not bound by the act of one of their body; or as if the whole and undivided responsibility insured by it remained singly with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He declared that if, unfortunately, he should ever find any future cause for imputing blame to that noble person, he should bring his charge against a Government, of which he could consider the Lord Lieutenant only as one member. (hear.)

The Earl of BLESSINGTON begged to suggest to the house, that when the property of the church was taken from the Roman Catholic occupiers and possessors, it was not conferred on the established church, but granted to various lay impro prietors. This appeared to him to found a right in Parliament to interfere with the system of tithes.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and the Earl of LIEERICK successively explained.

Lord DARNLEY deplored the fate of that unfortunate country, which nature seemed to have destined to be happy, but which centuries of misgovernment had involved in almost hopeless misery. A revision of the magistracy of Ireland might be attended with much benefit; but the measure now pending could have the effect only of disgracing those gentlemen who were in the commission. He hoped that the appearances which were now rather against the noble marquis (Wellesley), with respect to his having neglected to co-operate with the Government at home, would be effectually removed by explanation. He (Lord Darnley) did believe, that until the present Lord Lieutenant was appointed, it had been the fate of Ireland, that the principal officers, under her governors were servilely devoted to the Government in England.

Lord HOLLAND said, that the noble baron (Lord Ellenborough), who, together with himself, were the only persons on that side of the house unconnected with Ireland, had so ably answered the few objections which had been taken to the original motion, that he (Lord Holland) owed their lordships some apology for rising after him. The motion of his (Lord Holland’s) noble friend and relative went only to pledge that house to go into an examination of the affairs of Ireland, with a view to better her condition. But the noble earl opposite, in a speech, certainly one of the most extraordinary that he (Lord Holland) had ever heard, had answered his noble friend, by giving their lordships a view of the different states of society which had existed in different countries, in ancient and modern times (a laugh); and had concluded all these sapient remarks, by another motion to postpone the consideration of the present question: for, speaking in parliamentary sense, that was the effect of moving the previous question. It meant as much as that what was proposed was no doubt a very proper thing to be done, but that this was not a proper time for adopting it. But such proposition coming from a minister of the Crown, meant neither more nor less than this—“this may be all very proper; but I cannot agree to it; and I call upon you, from the general manner in which I have conducted myself, to place your whole confidence in the executive Government, and to leave them to do just what has been proposed by you to be done.” If that were indeed its meaning, the noble earl (Liverpool) had introduced his proposition in a very strange way. He had expressed his admiration (as who that heard the noble marquis would not have also done?) at the manner in which his (Lord Holland’s) noble friend and relative had brought forward his motion; but then the noble earl proceeded to say, that he was rejoiced to find that it had not been made a party question. After this, however, he (Lord Liverpool) had gone on to lay the whole matter on the broad ground of Providence, and to make a direct party motion by moving the previous question. As to this or that not being the proper time for its discussion, and as to holding out a promise that it should at some future time be considered, these were subjects on which Parliament had already had sufficient experience. He (Lord Holland) would not ask noble lords to look at what had passed since the period of the Union, he would ask them only to look at what had taken place since the last session of Parliament. His Majesty had scarcely quitted the shores of Ireland, when a message came down from the throne, calling on their lordships to suspend the constitution in regard to the kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt strong coercive measures besides. A reluctant consent to these measures was wrung from their lordships; the noble earl opposite told them that it was in the mind of Government to do much better things for Ireland, and that this and that plan of relief and improvement were in contemplation. The present Government was certainly altogether the most contemplative that ever existed in the world (a laugh); but the misfortune was, that nothing came of their contemplations. The noble earl had now been

contemplating the miseries of Ireland for 22 years, and the only result was, a sort of hint that at some time or other he would give his opinion upon them. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) A noble duke (we believe the Duke of Devonshire) whom he (Lord Holland) regretted not to see in his place—and more particularly as that absence was understood to be caused by indisposition) with all the mosity which belonged to his age, but with all that sober judgment and considerate goodness that seemed to be heircosm in his illustrious family (*hear,*) a few nights since came up to their Lordships' table, and said that, notwithstanding all the princely possessions which he derived from them, he was ready to surrender his tithes, and to give his assent to any less burdensome and less objectionable plan, whatever were the personal sacrifice it might occasion to him. The noble earl, as well he might, met that noble Duke with well-deserved and handsomely expressed compliments upon this generous and disinterested offer; and his (Lord Holland's) noble friend (the Duke of Devonshire) was well satisfied with the complimentary manner in which the noble earl had alluded to him. Now, for his own part, he (Lord Holland) hoped that he was not naturally more suspicious than other men; but he had known the noble earl some time (*a laugh*), and his suspicions were certainly excited on that evening. So much so, that he told his noble friend, the duke, to beware; that the noble earl had two ways of getting rid of any question which he desired to evade; that one of these was an alarming and terrible way—when the noble earl cried "*wolfe,*" and talked of the danger of the church and the perils of the country, the necessity of adhering to ancient principles; and his hopes that noble lords would not allow encroachments to be made, and so forth; that the other way of the noble earl was a smooth one; and that when that was adopted, the noble earl was accustomed to say—"I must admit this, indeed, nor can I deny that; but at least some modification should be made; and I think the house will see the propriety of acceding to them." (*laughter.*) It was against this smooth mode of evasion, that he (Lord Holland) had cautioned his noble friend; and he would say this, that whenever he (Lord Holland) had set his heart on carrying any object, he much preferred to hear the lofty and alarming tone of the noble earl than his more placid and gentle strain. (*laughter.*) A great poet of antiquity, who was said to have understood the female character extremely well—but he (Lord Holland) would not name the book, because he was sure that the eight reverend and learned prelates could know nothing about it (*much laughter*)—that poet had observed, that he never objected to a little scolding, and a little scratching, and a little pulling this hair at the hands of his mistress (*laughter*), because he knew that softer moments were sure to follow, (*a laugh*); so he (Lord Holland) felt well satisfied with the excited animation of the noble earl, but he dreaded the other tone. [The noble lord (Holland), in a speech which our limits will not allow us to insert even a brief report of, proceeded to comment on the numerous instances in which His Majesty's Government had at first pledged themselves never to concede measures which afterwards they brought into Parliament and most warmly supported, as in the cases of the bullion question—the invasion of the inviolable sinking fund—the admission of Roman Catholics to commands in the army and navy.] It was in vain for the noble earl to say that under any system of government at all resembling at which now prevailed in it, Ireland would do better. To disguise the fatal mismanagement which had reduced Ireland to what she now was, the noble earl was compelled to digress in his speech to examples of the most extraordinary state of society imaginable—to the Helots of Sparta—to the slaves at Rome, and to the slaves in the United States of America. The speech of the noble earl was more directed against reform than applicable to the present question. The noble lord (Holland) then proceeded to remark on the total absence of analogy between the cases of Scotland and Ireland; to the misery of Ireland under a system of tithes paid to the ministers of a religion foreign from her own; and to the prosperity of Scotland immediately subsequent to the abolition of episcopacy, and the extinction of tithes formerly payable by the Presbytery to ministers of the English church. The noble lord concluded his speech by reminding the house, that if ever the circumstances of Ireland should render it necessary to propose the repeal of the Union, he should be justified in those principles upon which he had formerly opposed that measure; and still contending that where the spirit and energies of the two nations, their habits, their laws, and their government, could not be assimilated, the one must be the victim of the other—a lifeless corpse attached to a living body; he should again recur to the lines he had on that former occasion quoted—

"Morta quin etiam jungetur corpora vivis,
"Compomens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,"

Strangers then withdrew from below the bar; and their Lordships divided, when the numbers were,

Contents 35, Proxies 25, 60
Non-contents 66, Proxies 43, 108
Majority against the motion, 48

Adjourned at a QUARTER PAST ELEVEN O'CLOCK.

Fine Arts, Royal Academy.

At no period do we recollect to have seen or felt so crowded an Exhibition as the present one of the Royal Academy. We have no right to question or quarrel with the motives which induce this congregated mass to assemble and jostle each other, if the Arts, or rather its professors, derive the benefits of the numerous visitors. We must however suspect that no small cause for this resort is Fashion—with many, to be in a crowd is to be in the world. But still we trust that under all this heat and another, some warmth may reach to the encouragement of those who cultivate the Arts, or they must soon be in the same situation with those who cultivate the ground, and from the same cause—a superabundance.

No. 171. Smugglers alarmed by an unexpected Change from hazy weather while landing their cargo. *A. W. Callicott, R. A.*—It is in these evanescent effects of light and atmosphere that the skill of the Artist is most seen. Mr. Callicott has drawn the veil of mist with so judicious a hand as nothing but long practice and great observation could have given. The picturesque form of his rocks break upon the eye like the visions of fancy, in hues of such tender light and colour, as to captivate the imagination, and almost draw off the attention from the headlong hurry of the action. The contrast is most happy, and the characters well sustain their parts. Nor is the foreground less skilfully executed; the humidity of the sand gradually uniting with the firm land, and dimly reflecting the objects and figures, is a beautiful feature in this admirable performance.

No. 6. The Princess Bridget Plantagenet, fourth Daughter of Edward the Fourth, who, when very young, was consigned to the care of the Abbess of the Monastery of Dartford, &c. &c.

No. 26. The Burial of Christ. *J. Northcote, R. A.*—Whatever materialists may say, the mind is the man; the machine may be injured in the wear and tear of life, while the mental faculties remain in splendid force; and we see that the imagination sometimes wrings its flight perhaps with less incumbrance in age, than in youth or manhood, when the pleasures or the cares of life occupy the attention. The physical powers, indeed, are not always protracted, as in the instance of Mr. Northcote and the late President of the Academy; but it is consoling to think they may be continued to a much longer date than men generally permit them to reach. Such ideas arise as we look upon the pictures, by this fine old man, which we think, with some few exceptions, are equal to many of his productions in the prime of his days. His predilection for Gothic armour also continues; and we are only sorry to observe it so misapplied as in "26, The Burial of Christ," where a soldier appears in iron as if they were silk pantaloons.

No. 114. What you will. *J. M. W. Turner, R. A.*—If the members of the Academy feel themselves indebted for this contribution to their stock of attractive Art, many Artists may be indebted to it for a title very frequently applicable to their productions. In the present instance, however, the title does not apply—it is a garden-scene, and nothing else; a sketch, and no more. It is a pretty bit of colouring, something in the style of Watteau, with a name that makes it look after. But for its general application it might suit many a subject, portrait, or view; as the Portrait of Lady—or who you will; His Grace, or &c.; a View of —, or what you will; and so on to the end of the Catalogue.

No. 226. A Party of Pleasure.—*M. W. Sharp.*—This party of pleasure threatens, like many of a similar kind, to turn out one of pain. The Lady, like Ariadne in the 34th Number of the Rambler, seems to be "alarmed with every rising gale," and to put the patience of her friends to a very severe trial. Mr. Sharp has thrown a great deal of comedy into the scene, and the old man in the boat is an admirable contrast to the shrinking female, whose convulsive grasp on the collar of the waterman is truly ludicrous. There is nothing of caricature in the features or expression of the different characters; and the scenery, colouring, and execution do great credit to the talents of the Artist. Nor has Mr. Sharp been less upon the look-out for other incidents beside the terrified damsel; the Dandy equipped in spurs for a water-party, the intrigue going on within the boat, and the fun without, are alike characteristics of his pencil and his powers. We certainly consider this piece, in which he has gone out of his usual line, to be one of his best works, if not his very happiest combination of mechanical skill, humour, and nature.

No. 17. A Sleeping Bacchante. *T. Stothard, R. A.*—Out of the usual size of Mr. Stothard's performances, but still within the scope of his genius, this picture displays an additional variety of his pencil, and has the same character of tasteful imagination and grace of form which should always accompany subjects of the kind. The works of his nature by Rubens, while they attract by their colouring, richness, and harmony, disgust by the heaviness and vulgarity of his figures, and can only be contemplated as objects of study to the artist, or of admiration to the connoisseur. Mr. Stothard's Bacchante is as full of beauty as of fancy; and the purple shadows from the clustered grape, in which he has touched her living flesh, are, in our eyes, charms, and effects at once original and poetical.

ASIATIC DEPARTMENT.

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Dum-Dum Theatre.

To the Editor of the Journal.

SIR,

What constitutes a good play, has long been a subject of discussion, and the question does not yet appear to have been decided. Plot, incident, and dialogue are the component parts, which being arrayed in the sparkling costume of Comedy, or in the dignified garb of Tragedy, have hitherto been known under the name of Drama. But it seems to have been reserved for the Infant Stage of India, in the playfulness of Childhood, to introduce gaudy toys, and a mere Speaking Pantomime: one of this kind was produced last night, with all the pomp and circumstance of a Tragic exhibition. The follies of youth may be pardoned, but they should be checked, lest whim should be converted into habit, and caprice obtain a control over reason. In other countries the Stage commenced in rudeness and was polished only by taste guided by experience; but in India the beautiful range of British Drama is unfolded, the sublime works of genius might be explored, and the most whimsical fancies gratified. With all these advantages, however, it must seem strange that those productions which tend to amuse the mind, to mend the heart, and to adorn the stage, should give place to a vile production, that was framed by some abominable Scribbler who possessed neither theatrical skill nor literary talents. It is in vain to talk of taste so long as the roaring of a Hag or the bellowings of a Bully can cause a sensation. At such a place as Astley's, where children are amused with prancing Steeds, tumbling Bipeds, fire-works and confusion, the Hag of the Glen might take its place, and rank highly, because effect was only considered and sense entirely renounced.

Meg Murnock, or the Hag of the Glen, is a production of this kind, therefore it can scarcely be expected that Performers however excellent, could give much effect to such a piece. The want of a Play-bill, which could not be procured at the Theatre, prevents my being able to name even the characters.

The principal Chief was represented by Mr. Fawcet, who looked remarkably well, and went through his part in a pleasing manner; but for such an exhibition, perhaps, it might be expected, that he would have exerted his lungs, and roared in horrid harmony.

Mr. Frankling, the Hag, looked frightful, and acted well.

Mr. Blackmore, as the hoary-headed Russian, appeared rather too much overpowered by agitation; but as Mr. Blackmore has considerable merit, it might perhaps have been necessary in his opinion to assume this state for the purpose of giving effect to the wild inconsistencies he was representing.

Mr. Baggely, as the Cottager, went through his part in a most respectable manner; yet while speaking to a Lord whose power he acknowledged, it was certainly out of character to stand before him with his arms a kimbo.

Mr. Morgan the Cottager's Son was very humorous, and often created a laugh that relieved the dull monotony of the scenes.

Mrs. Francis, the Lady of the Castle, looked extremely well, and shed a lustre on the very feeble character she had to sustain.

Mrs. Pope, as the Cottager's Daughter, was like innocence adorned with beauty, and it was only to be regretted that her fascinating countenance, and pretty little graceful figure, was not placed in a situation where she could continue to animate the scene, and charm the audience.

The young Lord was well supported, and a Dance admirably executed by Mr. Handcock.

The Music was very poor, and in representations of this kind, it is their great support: but last night, instead of inspiring solemn dread and creating awful suspense, it seemed capable alone of producing dullness. Two or three passages were extremely pleasing and brilliant, but these appeared like diamonds upon a tattered garment: they were beautiful in themselves, but they rendered the rest more despicable.

The After piece of the Weathercock closed the entertainment.

Mr. Frankling, as the Weathercock, displayed a versatility of talent, and a vivacity in performance, that commanded applause. His pleading at the Bar, his Oratorical flights, his Romeo, his Military Career, his Gardening, his Quakorism, and his final conversion at the Shrine of Beauty, were admirably pourtrayed.

Mr. Brown, as the Father, deserves much praise, and Mr. Goldby in the Old Barrister was extremely amusing.

Mr. Morgan, as the Servant, exhibited much humour, but was not so spirited as usual.

Mrs. Francis always shines in Comedy, and last night she was particularly happy in assuming the different Characters required in the part.

Mrs. Rees was an excellent lady's maid, and it was only to be regretted that she had so little to do. The house was crowded and the evening's exhibition was received with great applause; defects were overlooked, good humor presided, and universal approbation crowned the labours of the performers.

It is to be hoped for the future, when improved minds are to be anised, that recourse will be had to productions of approved merit, and that men of understanding and women of taste will not be invited to hear bad English, bad sense, bad music, and to see folly and bombast pass in dull theatrical parade before them.

VERITAS.

Atrocious Proscription.

THE BLOODY REIGN OF TERROR FIRST OPENED IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Journal.

SIR,

The Sixth Editor of the Eastern JOHN BULL, when first he introduced himself in that character to this community, distinctly stated that he would confine his remarks strictly against your public principles, careful how he intruded on your private character, and called upon his Correspondents to preserve the like temper, and to refrain from all personality, as he was determined not to admit any communication of such a tendency. How far he has proved his sincerity may be seen in almost every Number of the BULL since first he offered to the Public his pacific Prospectus, and the Numbers of Friday and to-day (Saturday) are perhaps the most refined specimens of manly conciliation, and gentlemanly feeling that have ever yet appeared.

The Letter in yesterday's BULL signed "CIVILIS," is a sad reflection on this Society for being so unfortunate as to have one individual among them, capable of writing such a malicious and abominable letter, (you ought to republish it for the sake of exposing its atrocity); as well as for having an Editor (numbered as one of themselves) of a Daily Public Paper so deficient in judgement, and so regardless of every feeling of delicacy, as to publish any thing written by such a monster, such an enemy to mankind, who has thus endeavoured to spread firebrands, and to light the torch of discord amongst us, and who thus wantonly has attempted to dissolve the dearest ties of friendship, and to cancel every bond which unites society.

This free Agent, and unrestrained Editor has made no scruple of publishing your name in full to the world. I hope, therefore, Mr. Editor, that you will not object to my mentioning his in this Letter, as I think a man so ambitious of fame, and so intoxicated with what he fancies his success, must be anxious that posterity should know who he was, who thus boldly held out the red banner to encourage atrocity like this of suffering an unknown and masked Slanderer to denounce a known and respected Individual, and to threaten all those who do not join him in hunting you down, with disgrace and odium also!

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This-day's BULL commences with a direct and violent attack on *your* private character, and as the attack is strictly Editorial, Mr. GREENLAW, the Editor, is implicated in whatever guilt or credit may be attached to it, although it is very easily seen that *not one* word of it is written or dictated by himself. Not—nonsensically absurd and labored as the remarks are, the Coroner, (I beg his pardon) the Editor, has not the ability to compose them, altho' by publishing he has proved his *readiness* to join in the wicked persecution now carrying on, raging with fury, with jealousy, and with revenge, against you; he tells us that they are not what he *had intended* to produce for to-day, and I believe him; this is quite sufficient for me to be confirmed in what I all along imagined, that he is *not* the free Agent in his Editorial character which he wishes the Public to believe.

I have just had a summons from my house to attend, on a domestic accident, and as the tide has not much longer to run, I must leave off here, although I could say much more to expose this pitiful *conspiracy* against an individual who has gone through a much more severe and a much more rigorous examination as to his *private* and public character, than any could be borne by one out of ten thousand men, standing high in public and private estimation; I will not even except men holding the highest rank in any country.

I am Sir, Your obedient Servant, and

Calcutta, Nov. 30, 1822.

NO MAN'S ENEMY.

You will I know be sorry to hear that there is to be no Public Dinner to-day given by my countrymen.

A New Mystery.

To the Editor &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

Whilst the Town is inundated, humbugg'd, and bamboozled (devilish good words all) with the stupid drivellings of a host of pretended FRIENDS to one man only because they are real ENEMIES to another, Literature and Science appears to be utterly neglected; nay, the Ouse Rice ceases to alarm; or the rum Old Lady on the top of the Government House to astonish; Physic and the Fine Arts, Politics and Poetry, all seem trampled under foot, in the general "row" which now seems to agitate this sapient metropolis. But this must not be allowed; to my certain knowledge, there are at this moment more sucking Shakespeares in Calcutta than good-natured people; and they only want "stirring up," to astonish the weak-mind of the Public. Now, here is the Sketch of a Tragedy, which one of these young Poets sent here the other day;—famous outline, only wants filling up,—but JEMMY TIMS, the Author, is a lazy dog, and vows that the *thing* is worth no further trouble. Suppose you try your hand at it; or give it to Johnny the BULL, or better than either, submit it to the world, and let some aspiring Candidate, for the ever-green Crown effect the needful. All that he has to do is to pocket the invention (a rare article now-a-days) lay on the dialogue, for which by the way there are hints in the skeleton, and bring it out at the Chowringhee Theatre next Friday fortnight. I'll bet an alligator garnished with curds and whey, and six dozen of turpentine to wash him down, that the *thing* takes, succeeds to a miracle. Try.—I am

"Thine and my poor country's ever"

Calcutta, December 2, 1822. — THEOPHILUS JONES.

P. S. If ever you want to have a RAT roasted, send him to our Club, a proper set of roaring dogs. Moreover, if you want to do your Tory, hand him over, and we will give him such a rattling that he shall fancy himself a Tennis Ball.— T. J.

P. S. TIMS is just now elbow deep in a Tragedy, written upon the true model of the "Satanic School." It is to be called "The Devil amongst the Tailors,"—Do you think it will take?—

T. J.

The Buzzing of the B.'s—a Mystery.

ACT THE FIRST.

SCENE THE FIRST—ZIZ ZAG LANE.

Time—mid-night—enter the Moon—then St. John's Clock strikes twelve, at is always does about that time—a Chorus heard from the Waterloo Hotel.

CHORUS.

AIR—"When the Stormy Winds do blow."

We be true Legitimates
All sitting at our tea,
Right public-minded Gentlemen
Calcutta's "Beaux Esprits."
To serve the whole community
Our labour we'll bestow,
And we'll fag, and we'll brag,
And we'll brag, and we'll fag,
Till we lay the JOURNAL low.

Now all ye bold adventurers
Who'd join our valiant crew,
Ye must not be particular
When there's dirty work to do.
For if the JOURNAL says white's white,
We say 'tis black ye know;
So we'll tear, and we'll swear,
And we'll swear, and we'll tear,
Till we lay the JOURNAL low.

They say a Rat is beauteous
And oh! the Tory loves
A thing so wise and duteous,
That

Here the Chorus suddenly dies away in a general "row," and a great shouting of "The Bull for ever—a Bull! a Bull! a Bull!"—Then enter from the Hotel "JOHN BULL IN THE EAST," rather fuddled, counting three and four pence, which he has just received to set him a-going (N. B. this character should be dressed in a *sad* coloured suit with a creamy countenance and pea-green whiskers, his *Indispensables* are made of "Old English JOHN BULLS," and the "Scandalous CHRONICLE,") A window now opens, and there appears at the balcony, in a pensive and rather *confined* attitude, Miss INDIANA PUBLIC (not the Old Lady mentioned by our dear and reverend Uncle Christopher North,) she sighs, blows her nose, and looks at the Moon, which, on the contrary, does not appear to notice her at all. JOHN BULL begs to be allowed to feel her pulse, which he does, to the great admiration of the Spectators, under various disguises; but finding that she positively *won't bleed*, he retires snivelling.

SCENE THE SECOND.—THE SAME.

Enter C. JOURNAL, Esq. playing upon his Balalaika, or thin-gumbob,* and singing an Arabic Song. Miss Public seems tickled, simpers, and descends from the balcony. Enter from the house, Miss Public and Pantaloona. Pantaloona seems to recommend him of the Balalaika or thingumbob to his daughter, when suddenly there enters on the other side (at which the SPECTATORS raise a great shout) JOHN BULL in "a very fine waistcoat;" he is playing upon the LYRE, and singing in a very *low* and *base* voice—Pantaloona seems touched, wipes his eyes with a red pocket handkerchief, and gives JOHN BULL his toe to kiss. JOHN BULL prostrates himself and licks his shoe; then does C. JOURNAL, Esq. throw himself at the feet of his mistress, and so does JOHN BULL,—still keeping a reverential eye upon Pantaloona's toe—Miss Public grins, as it were a Dutch oven, upon JOURNAL, raises him, and pats his whisker:—at the same time she gives JOHN BULL a "stomacher" with her off hind foot, at which feat of agility all the people laugh ready to kill themselves. JOURNAL walks off with Miss P——; exit JOHN BULL singing "God save the King,"—in a very tremulous and dolorous voice—Pantaloona

* Vide the Legitimate Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin.

looks foolish, but after hesitating for some time is shoved off by an invisible hand towards JOHN BULL.

ACT THE SECOND,

SCENE THE FIRST.—A DARK ALLEY,

Enter Pantaloona and JOHN BULL. Pantaloona gives him his toe to kiss, as usual, and is shampoo'd and tickled by John in return—Pantaloona smiles upon John, whereupon several well-dress'd gentlemen rush forward hastily, kiss the waistband of Pantaloona's breeches, catch BULL, who is upon the point of falling, and support him in their arms.—*Exeunt omnes* (laying their heads together) to a flourish of fiddles.

Many other scenes now pass, during which Mr. JOURNAL is flayed, baked, stuck full of pins, &c. by BULL and the well dressed gentlemen; they also, at sundry times, try to rub him over with a black paint, but fail, and only bedaub their own faces. BULL throws dirt, but RETIRES after getting a dab or two which he intends for JOURNAL on his own mazzard.

The Act concludes with something like the Trial-Scene in the Merchant of Venice, when Bull and Co. play the part of Shylock, JOURNAL walking triumphantly out of Court per aid of Miss Public, who enacts Portia by particular desire—

ACT THE THIRD—SCENE THE FIRST.

Enter many very well dressed and tidy gentlemen in despair, intimating that JOHN BULL has become a "hole-and-corner-man," by singing in chorus. (AIR, "And has she then failed in her truth.)

And has he then left us. The BULL,
The dear witty BULL we adore;
Shall we never again get our full,
Of the Humbug we love more and more,
No! no! no! we shall never get it more,
No! no! &c. &c.

MINORE.

If Twenty Rupees be required,
To set him a-going a-new,
What true soul, with loyalty fired,
If call'd on to "tip," would look blue?
But, ah! no, no, we shall never, &c. &c.

Suddenly a great bellowing is heard, which is rather a pity, as it puts a stop to the Chorus; but that's of no consequence, because, enter JOHN BULL in a much finer waistcoat than ever" hopping first on one leg, then on the other, and then throwing you a somerset and five and thirty flip-flaps with a loud "gaffan," to each; upon which the tidy and well dressed gentlemen think that he is clean "distraught; but JOHN convinces them to the contrary by drinking a gallon of brandy and water, and singing (TUNE. "I hurry post-haste for a License.")

I've brought a young Lion from Cairo
And another from over the sea,
To stick Mister B. in the mire, oh!
Where curse him, so long he's kept me.
Then hey, Jig,
My heart's in a wig,
I now could jump over the moon.
Let Miss Public but set us a grappling
And we'll knock Mr. JOURNAL up soon.

The project for knocking up the JOURNAL convinces the other characters that BULL knows what he is about:—they accordingly retain him *once more*, and direct their Treasurer to disburse unto him five farthings per diem for current expences, and three pence a week for secret-service money. BULL sticks for a dish of scandal at breakfast, and this after some hesitation is ordered to be added to the usual allowance of a red herring and a pen'orth of barley sugar. BULL now proposes that they shall go and "see his lions."—*Exeunt omnes*, shouting and singing.

TUNE—"Oh such a day."

Oh! such a day
So renown'd and so glorious
Of such a day as this, who ever knew?
BULL's got two Lions
So frisky and uporous,
When the JOURNAL hears them bellow
He'll look blue—

Men and Tories
All our glories
Never look'd so bright before,
That infernal
Prating JOURNAL
Soon shall wish for hel eboore,
For our Lions,
Loyal scions,
Of the stock legitimate,
Soon shall duck ye
Mr. Buck—ee
In the pool of Public Hate.*

SCENE SECOND.—A DEN.

Enter two Lions, who dance a "pas de deux," and several *Russe's*, after which they gambol divertingly; to them enter Bull, and "the persons of Quality." Bull introduces his friends to the Lions, who smile politely, and in short behave like brutes of wit and breeding. "Gentlemen, this here Lion as is black, is "THE FRIEND OF MR. BANES." This here as is blue, is "THE FRIEND OF MR. BURCKHARDT." An effigy of C. J. is then brought on the stage; the persons of quality and the others are set on to bait it unmercifully. Bull pinches the Lions' tails; the "Lions roar ye as they were any Nightingales." Suddenly there is report that JOURNAL is coming in person; the Lions and the others look a little as it were blue; but they then say "Demme, who's afraid? we're fifty to one—d—e, we won't run, oh! who's afraid? d—e"—*Exeunt*, to meet C. J.—BULL still pinching Lions' tails, and the well dressed gentlemen passing ginger and hot spices down their throats, and occasionally patting their backs to keep their courage up.

SCENE THE LAST—CALCUTTA IN AN UPROAR.

Enter one hastily as if pursued, then four Constables and a Justice of the Peace, who keeps continually exclaiming, "I'll bind them over:—I'll bind them over; they evanish—then cometh one who cries out lustily "A CHALLENGE! A CHALLENGE!" at which many young gentlemen in the side-boxes faint; and sundry others retire suddenly; but then come the Lions and the Bull and the well dressed gentlemen roaring in chorus—Bells ring, trumpets blow, guns fire, but the whole thing ends in smoke! Enter JOURNAL, who stuffs an Answer to the Challenge down BULL's throat. The Lions look sheepish, and the well-dressed Gentlemen, with a vastly vacant expression of countenance, tumble their frills, and "put their hands in their breeches pockets like crocodiles." BULL looks as if he had nausea,—rather sickish or so,—but can't get rid of what JOURNAL has administered. Enter Miss Public, who to evince her undiminished sentiments of affection and dislike, strokes JOURNAL's eye brow with her thumb, and squirts a little tobacco-juice, (for she is partial to a quid), into BULL's eye. Pantaloona is seen in the back ground, as *undecided* as ever; but on a sudden, enter Merlin, who touches the Lions with his wand, their skins fall off, and to the inexpressible admiration of the audience they are proved to be

This Act is not finished: but at my first leisure hour, I will certainly unravel "THE MYSTERY."

* Dear Tims,—Why the devil did you use such a cursed lame metaphor as that? J. T.

Dear Jones,—I'm writing a Tragedy, don't interrupt the current of my feelings. J. T.

Spies at Social Dinners.

SIR,

To the Editor of the Journal.

In the BULL of this morning, I observe one new step of insult to the feelings of the Public of Calcutta, by the publication of opinions admitted to have been given at the moment of social enjoyment and (supposed) free and unreserved table-talk. Expressions used at table are proverbially spoken "under the rose," and the reputation of even idly repeating such conversation out of the room where it passes, is disgraceful to an Individual. What shall be said of him then, who deliberately publishes in the Newspapers the account of what passed, repeating expressions which it must give pain to the Gentleman who used them to see thus stated in print? If this system continues, it must evidently either prevent all social meetings from being assembled, or confine the enjoyment of the company to eating and drinking.

We shall see in a short time whether the "good people" of this City will allow three or four persons who keep up this perpetual tossing of firebrands, to treat them as cyphers, and to hound them on to worry and destroy an obnoxious individual.

December 2.

A LOOKER-ON.
The Invisible Letter.

SIR,

To the Editor of the Journal.

I observe the *Mohawks* of this Metropolis have thrown out another Tub to the Whale, in a marvelous story of the CHALLENGE, which was put into your Letter-Box by one of these masked individuals, after another had sealed it, and which was afterwards unaccountably withheld from the impatient Public, for full six hours, with some mysterious and no doubt heinous design! I have little hopes that the modest proposal made in the BULL of yesterday, will be accepted by the respectable Gentlemen to whom it was offered. I do not therefore expect that the Public will be able, for some time, to judge from the personal character of the letter-carrier of the truth of this story. But there are some points of the tale itself which would be the better for explanation. We learn from the JOHN BULL Extra of the 28th of November, that "A FRIEND TO MR. BANKS" writes to the BULL to request his insertion of a note "sent this evening" to the JOURNALIST. This note, (the famous Challenge), begins with an expectation "that the JOURNALIST will state to the Public in his Paper of *to morrow*, &c." We are now informed that the Challenge was undoubtedly delivered, for the writer gave it to a friend who told him he "put it in the box at nine o'clock at night!"

Is it a natural or usual mode of speech to speak of a letter sent this evening, which was sent so late as nine o'clock at night?

How could the writer expect that it should be published or even noticed in the Paper issued on the next day, which must have been complete and in the Press before the hour of its pretended receipt?

Until we have some clearer external testimony to the truth of all this story, it carries very much the air of a story got up in order to get out the never-to-be forgotten Extra of Thursday last.

November 30, 1822.

COMMON SENSE.**Passengers.**

Passengers per LA BELLE ALLIANCE, from the Isle of France to Calcutta.—R. Woodward, Esq. Civil Service; A. Dick, Esq.; Lieutenant and Mrs. Laureson; Mr. E. Abbott; and Mr. F. Thompson.

Marriage.

At Jangpore, on the 25th ultimo, by the Reverend Mr. EALES, JOHN WILFRID BATEMAN, Esq. to Miss LOUISA BIRCH.

Births.

On the 30th ultimo, the Lady of W. F. DICK, Esq. Judge and Magistrate of Etawah, of a Son.

On the 30th ultimo, the Lady of JOHN O'BRIEN TANDY, Esq. of a Son.

Printed at the Columbian Press, No. 4, Bankshall Street.

Letter from Saugor.*To the Editor of the Journal.*

SIR,

The following communication has just been received from a Correspondent at Saugor:—

On the 23d ultimo, Capt. Blair, Commandant of the Rohillahs; was ordered out to Bhilsa, with 200 of his men; together with 2 guns, and 3 companies of Seapys, which latter were to have joined them from Dabree. On reaching Rautghur, their destination was changed to Gunge Basaudah, which place they reached on the 27th, and the 31st of the month were joined by three Companies of the 21st, from Saugor, as a detachment of that strength could not be supplied from Dabree, on account of the sickly state of the Post. On the 2d instant, the Detachment again moved and encamped at Seronge, on the 3d, since when they have been reinforced by 3 more Ressallas of Rohillahs, from Lehore and Dabree, besides a portion of the Contingents of the Nawaub of Bhopal's troops. The cause of the movement of this Detachment appears to be as follows:—

Umbajee Ghauka, a Mahratta Sirdar of Scindeah's, in demanding of that Prince the arrears of his pay, went a little further than the rules of decorum and duty warrant on such occasions, in consequence he received his discharge: a discontented Son-ia-Law of Scindeah's, (Ramrao Patunker, alias Appah Sahew) joined his party, and both moved off from Gwalior, first toward Dutta, and afterwards to Nurwier; thence they applied to the Resident for a passport to Poonah, in the vicinity of which both were born.

Major Close granted one for three hundred and fifty armed men, exclusive of Camp Followers, but they were averse to separate their Troops and would not agree to the measure; probably dreading some foul play in the Durbar, when once divided: To check the progress of this body to the Southward, the Saugor Detachment were ordered out. At present they occupy a position on the banks of the Scind, a little to the North of Kalabaugh, negotiating with the Durbar, from which the Mahratta's Gooroos have arrived to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, which he will either effect, or they will agree to terms and proceed on their journey, with a reduced number of followers. The following is a statement of their Forces: 1,500 Horses, 500 on Ponies and foot, 8 Elephants, 20 Camels with Jinjals, 13 ditto Rockets, 1 ditto Noubut, 35 Sawarrie, 500 Carriages, 10 Nakurehes and 22 Palankeens, altogether about 4000 people; and a proportionate quantity of Baggage and Specie.—Considering all things, it is not very likely that they will have a stomach for a tilt with the Rohillahs. As to the Foot, it is well-known a Mahratta always keeps at a respectable distance from Jack's Bayonet; therefore the gallant Rohillahs would chiefly have to cope, and to add one more laurel to the many they have already gathered during the late Mahratta and Pindarrie Campaigns. It is but bare justice to say, that a more active, brave, and dashing set of fellows are not in the Service, and they will ever remain so, as long as they are so ably commanded.

Nov. 28, 1822.

H. F.

Shipping Arrivals.**CALCUTTA.**

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	From Whence	Left
Dec. 2	La Belle Alliance	British	W. Rose	I. of France	Oct. 19
2	Mary Ann Sophia	British	R. Cornfoot	Sinatra	Nov. 9

Shipping Departures.**CALCUTTA.**

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	Destination
Dec. 1	Columbia	British	J. Chapman	Bombay
1	Homer	Amren.	W. Foster	Boston

The JOHN TAYLOR, arrived off Calcutta on Sunday.

The Ship LORD HUNTERFORD, Captain C. Farquharson, for London via Cape, is expected to sail from Diamond Harbour about the 10th Dec.